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Art. I. *An Inquiry into the State of Slavery amongst the Romans ; from the earliest Period till the Establishment of the Lombards in Italy.* By William Blair, Esq. 12mo. pp. xii. 301. Price 6s. Edinburgh, 1833.

THIS 'outline of the most important chapter in the great history of servitude', is from the pen of a gentleman who has had an opportunity of personally observing the condition of the slaves in two of our colonies; the Cape of Good Hope and the Mauritius. He is the son of the late Lord President Blair of the Court of Session, and was sent out as a Commissioner, in 1825—9, to inquire into the state of those colonies. In this volume, he does not, however, attempt to institute any comparison between modern colonial and ancient slavery. Wherever the 'bitter draught' is mingled, 'many of the ingredients', he remarks, 'must ever be the same; but, on some points, the two systems differ so widely, that they could serve but little to illustrate each other.' The work has no direct reference, therefore, to the subject which is at present agitating the public mind. It is purely an historical inquiry, relating to 'a people who, above all others, have furnished employment to the studious and amusement to the idle; who have scarcely left behind them a coin or a stone which has not been examined and explained a thousand times, and whose dress, food, and household-stuff, it has been the pride of learning to understand.' Nevertheless, the state of slavery among the Romans, has hitherto received little attention from literary men in this country. Mr. Stephen, in his invaluable work, "The Slavery of the British West India Colonies delineated", has occasionally, for the purpose of illustration, referred to the ancient system; and the advocates of Negro Slavery have not been ashamed to plead the example of the pagan Romans as a sanction, claiming for it the tacit countenance or per-

mission of Christianity itself. On this account, in addition to the historic interest attaching to the inquiry, it is important that the nature of that system of servitude should be fully understood, to which, in the New Testament, there is repeated reference. The inquiry may be rendered subservient to the purpose of Biblical illustration; and an examination of the details will enable the reader to judge, how far a system which was undoubtedly co-existent with primitive Christianity, can be regarded as compatible with its dictates, and sanctioned by its tacit recognition.

Slavery, of some kind or other, has existed as the condition of a certain class of the population, in almost every country, from the remotest antiquity. No great nation of the ancient world, of which any accounts have come down to us, seems to have been wholly without a servile class. From the records of the Old Testament, a condition of absolute bondage appears to have been established as a regular institution in Asia and in Egypt. The Patriarchs had slaves, as well as the Canaanites and the Arabians. It existed in every part of Greece, and may be traced in the remains of all those States into which Italy was divided anterior to the foundation of Rome. Instead of being confined to any race, it prevailed in every branch of the human family. The black races held in bondage the less civilized whites; the descendants of Ham made captives and bondsmen of those of Shem and Japhet, who indiscriminately held in slavery the descendants of their respective progenitors, and those of the supposed parent of the sable children of the Sun, upon whom some authors have absurdly represented slavery to be peculiarly entailed. Britain, down to a late period, supplied slaves to the Roman market; and 'historians have often repeated the singular anecdote told by Bede, of Gregory the Great having been moved to suggest the conversion of our ancestors, by the sight of many fine English youths exposed to sale in the market of Rome.' According to Strabo, British slaves were prized for their stature, on which account they were assigned by Augustus to the service of the theatre. England was disgraced by the *exportation* of her natives long after the age of St. Gregory; and the practice of kidnapping, not Africans, but British and Irish children, was long carried on, not by Algerines, but by English corsairs and Bristolian slave-traders.

Such is the high antiquity, such the universal prevalence in former times, of Slavery. Whence could such a state of things have originated? There can be little doubt that it had its first origin, as Michaelis remarks, in *war*. The claim of the master was founded upon the supposed right of conquest, or rather, upon the clemency or humane policy which spared the lives of the conquered. Captivity was a commutation of the bloody law of war. Slavery was, therefore, in its origin and essential cha-

racter, a penal condition. Those who were taken in war, were dealt with as rebels, or persons obnoxious to vengeance. All wars have been levied upon some pretext which might throw the blame upon the weaker party, and give to the vindictive or predatory incursion the semblance of retribution or penal justice. How unjustly soever the innocent victims might be reduced to bondage, it is clear, that they were regarded as having forfeited life, before they were deprived of liberty. The right to enslave another, is founded on the right to take away his life. Hence, the difference in the estimated value of a slave's life and that of a freeman. The former is an imperfect life, part of which has been taken by the sword of vengeance, and part is left. National enemies and domestic criminals were viewed in the same light, and placed alike beyond the pale of humanity. The apology for massacre in war, and for the milder punishment, slavery, is substantially the same. Thus we find Michaelis palliating the cruelties of the ancient warfare by asking, 'whether a magistrate has a right to proceed more severely against a band of robbers, than one nation against another that has behaved with as much hostility and cruelty as robbers can do.'* His argument is, that if it is not deemed unjust to inflict capital punishments, and even torture, on banditti, who are subjects, it cannot be absolutely unjust to treat foreign enemies with equal severity. It is due to the learned Writer to remark, that his object is, to vindicate from the objections of sceptics, the cruelties practised in the wars of the Israelites, which he shews to have been strictly conformable to the Asiatic law of nations at that period. According to the same law which doomed the males to massacre, the women and children were carried into captivity. If any who had borne arms were spared to become slaves, *that* was considered as an act of clemency, an exercise of compassion. Such was undoubtedly the origin of a servile class among most ancient nations; and the slave was either a captive or the child of one. 'The Romans', Mr. Blair remarks:

'seem to have usually acted upon the rule of granting life and liberty to enemies who surrendered without a contest; but of carrying away, as prisoners, those who had made resistance. The most of such captives, often after the humiliation of being led in triumph, were sold into slavery, or sent to fight in the amphitheatre, as gladiators or combatants with wild beasts; but some were usually retained by the state, as public slaves. Romulus, after his first successes over his neighbours, directed, that not all the vanquished of the age of puberty should be put to death or sold, but that some of them should be allowed to become citizens of Rome; and the exception made by him, shews us what was the prevailing custom in that early age.

* Michaelis's Laws of Moses, Vol. I. p. 330.

'In general, prisoners of war were sold, as soon as possible, after their capture; and if a subsequent treaty provided for their release, it would appear, that a special law was passed, ordering the buyers of such slaves to give them up, on receiving (from the treasury) repayment of the original purchase money. At least, we have one instance of this proceeding, with regard to a body of Ligurians, who had surrendered, and were sold by the consul Popilius, while the senate was deliberating about their treatment. It was feared, that no other enemies would ever yield themselves, if these were kept in slavery; and a decree was issued, annulling the previous sales, and compelling the respective purchasers to set free the Ligurians; but with restitution, by the public, of the prices which had been paid. Prisoners belonging to a revolted nation were, without exception in favour of voluntary surrender, sold into servitude; and sometimes, as a more severe punishment, or greater precaution, it was stipulated, at their sale, that they should be carried to distant places, and should not be manumitted within twenty or thirty years. The most common terms for slaves are generally thought to be derived from words expressive of capturing, or of preserving; and a few examples will suffice to shew, how abundant a supply of bondsmen was obtained, by the Romans, in their wars. After the fall of the Samnites at Aquilonia, 2,553,000 (or 2,033,000) pieces of brass were realized by the sale of prisoners, who amounted to about 36,000. Lucretius brought from the Volscian war, 1250 captives: and, by the capture of one inconsiderable town, no less than 4000 slaves were obtained. The number of the people of Epirus taken, and sold, for behoof of the army, under Paulus Æmilius, was 150,000. On the Romans' descent upon Africa, in the first Punic war, they took 20,000 prisoners. Gelon, prætor of Syracuse, having routed a Carthaginian army, took so many captives, that he gave 500 of them to each of several citizens of Agrigentum. On the great victory of Marius and Catulus over the Cimbri, 60,000 were captured. When Pindenissus was taken by Cicero, the inhabitants were sold for more than 100,000*l*. Augustus, having overcome the Salassi, sold, as slaves, 36,000, of whom 8,000 were capable of bearing arms. Julius Cæsar is said, by Plutarch and Appian, to have taken, in his Gallic wars alone, no fewer than a million of prisoners; a statement which is, no doubt, much exaggerated, but which shews, that the number was considered to be great: perhaps, we may adopt the estimate of Velleius Paterculus, who says, merely, that they exceeded 400,000.

'Both law and custom forbade prisoners, taken in civil wars, to be dealt with as slaves; yet the rule was sometimes disregarded. Brutus proposed to sell his Lycian captives, within sight of the town of Patra; but finding, that the spectacle did not produce the effect he expected on the inhabitants, he quickly put an end to the sale. On the taking of Cremona, by the forces of Vitellius, his general Antonius ordered, that none of the captives should be detained; and the soldiers could find no purchasers for them. The latter fact shews the general feeling on the subject, and is not weakened, as a proof, by the apparent anticipations of the troops; for the spirit of parties was, at that time, peculiarly acrimonious, and Cremona had made so obstinate a defence, that some signal vengeance might be thought due. Prisoners often

suffered, by their being thus of no value. In the instance just mentioned, the soldiers began to kill them, if not privately bought off by their friends; and, in the earlier civil commotions, captives were openly massacred by Sylla and the Triumviri; which, perhaps, would not have been done, to the same extent, had those prisoners been saleable.

pp. 17—21.

‘This people, of whose war-laws we are apt to think so highly’, remarks Michaelis, ‘for a long time, even to the days of Cæsar, massacred their prisoners in cold blood, whenever they survived the disgrace of the triumph.’* Slavery was the bitter alternative; a striking illustration of the fact, that “the tender mercies of the wicked are cruel.”†

When a property in man was thus established, originating in violence, the trade in men speedily commenced. Prisoners of war were first sold; and then, to supply the market once opened, the harmless and unoffending were kidnapped, or hunted down, and carried off from their country by the pirates of the ancient world. The chief emporium of the Roman slave-trade was Delos.

‘The slave trade which they encouraged was so brisk, that the port became proverbial for such traffic, and was capable of importing and re-exporting 10,000 slaves in a single day. The Cilician pirates made Delos the great staple for sale of their captives, which was a very gainful part of their occupation. Sida, a city of Pamphylia, was another market of these robbers, for the disposal of their prisoners, whom they sold there, avowing them to be free men. The pirates of Cilicia were put down by Pompey, who burned 1,300 of their ships; but the eastern part of the Mediterranean was never free from piratical adventurers, by whom captives, for sale or ransom, were considered valuable booty. Delos ceased to be a great mart after the Mithridatic war; and it seems probable, that, afterwards, the slave-trade was transferred to the various ports nearest those countries whence the slaves came.

‘The most regular supply of valuable slaves to the Italian market, was originally procured through trade. Other nations, no doubt, sold to the Roman dealers, slaves taken in wars with which Rome had not been concerned. In most countries, too, it was common for parents to sell their children into slavery. When the privileges of Roman citizenship were highly esteemed, and rarely obtained, it was not unusual for the allies to give their children as slaves to masters in Rome, on condition of their being ultimately manumitted, and so made to participate, as freedmen, in the envied advantages of citizens; until the practice was checked by a special enactment, in A. U. C. 573. Doubts have been thrown upon the extent of the slave-trade carried on by the Romans, from the vastness of its cost; but the value of ordinary slaves was not such as to give much weight to this objection. In trafficking

* Laws of Moses, Vol. I. p. 331.

† Prov. xii. 10.

with comparatively barbarous nations, dealers procured slaves by barter, at a very cheap rate. Salt, for example, was anciently much taken by the Thracians, in exchange for human beings. Even had the cost of slaves been higher than we have good authority for estimating it, the wealth of the Romans was certainly so immense, that great capital might be supposed to have been engaged in a trade which had become absolutely necessary ; besides, we have many positive testimonies to the fact, of great numbers of foreign slaves being imported into Italy. Man-stealing appears to have been, at all times, a very prevalent crime amongst the ancients ; there is every reason to think that Terence was kidnapped from Carthage ; the *Persa* and *Pænulus* of Plautus shew that such practices were not unusual in the East, when they, or their originals, were written ; and St. Paul, in denouncing man-stealers as sinners of the worst class, impresses us with the belief that these offences were very frequent. The number of Roman laws passed, at various periods, against man-stealing, [*plagium*,] evinces at once the sense which the Legislature entertained of its enormity, and the difficulty experienced in its suppression.' pp. 29—31.

'Free-born Romans might be reduced to slavery by the operation of law. Criminals doomed to certain ignominious punishments were, by effect of their sentence, deprived of citizenship, and sunk into a state of servitude. They were then termed "slaves of punishment," [*servi pænæ*,] and belonged to the fisc, in later times, whence we may judge them to have been the property of the public during the commonwealth. This severe consequence was inferred by condemnation to death, or to the *arena*, or to labour for life, in the mines or the public works ; and a pardon, or a remission of the penalty, left the convict still a slave, unless he was restored to his former rank by a special act of grace. But the condition of penal slaves was entirely abolished by Justinian. We must not omit here to mention, that during the early persecutions of Christianity, reduction to slavery in a very horrid form, was employed as a punishment for the embracing of our faith.' pp. 38—39.

Michaelis, in his Commentaries on the Laws of Moses, is disposed to defend the legislative policy which would perpetuate slavery, on this ground ; that, where it does not subsist, 'many crimes which might otherwise be more advantageously, and perhaps more effectually, and at the same time also more mildly punished by condemnation to slavery, must be made capital offences ; such as theft and wilful bankruptcy ! Nor is there', he adds, 'any proper means of preventing the idleness of beggars ; for work-houses, which, after all, form almost a species of slavery, cost the public more than they bring in. Nor, again, can the settlement of debts be in any way so summarily and securely effected, as when the creditor has it in his power to sell the debtor for his slave ! * Upon the whole, the establishment of slavery under certain limitations', the learned German con-

* Michaelis, Laws of Moses, Vol. II. p. 157.

tends, 'would prove a profitable plan.' When we meet with such sentiments as these in the pages of a philosophical and Christian jurist of the eighteenth century, we cease to wonder at the injustice and cruelty of the penal laws of other days. But this very defence of slavery includes the important admission, that it is a penal condition,—one which might be deemed a sufficient punishment of crimes of the deepest dye,—a substitute for capital punishments, milder only than the extreme sanction of the law, and, for the purpose of terror, not less effectual. Without entering upon the argument relating to the expediency of such a mode of punishment, we put it to our readers, What is the character of that system which inflicts the punishment of guilt upon the innocent? which, without the pretext of national hostility, wages perpetual war against human nature in the persons of those who have never sinned, nor their fathers, against society? The same relation which this severest of secondary punishments bears to capital punishments, the crime of inflicting it upon the innocent must bear to murder. The difference is merely one of degree; and as to colonial slavery, the nature of the bondage makes it little better than slow murder. Negro life is constantly melting away, and the race is diminishing under the dreadful penalty of slavery; a penalty inflicted not for the crimes of its victims, but for the gains of their masters: a system of gratuitous and arbitrary punishment of the unoffending, for the pure advantage and convenience of a handful of white tyrants! The marked distinction between the ancient and the modern slavery, as to its origin and principle, is forcibly put in an eloquent sermon, just published, on 'The Sinfulness of Colonial Slavery', by Mr. Halley, the Classical Tutor at Highbury College.

'In those early times, the claim of the master was founded in the acknowledged laws of war. These might have been unjust and immoral, inhuman and cruel. It is neither my business nor my inclination to justify war; but, still, it is essentially distinct from the practice of man-stealing. In the patriarchal age war was unquestionably tolerated, and slavery was the unavoidable result. But then each party was exposed to the danger. Every man, in hope of the spoils, put his life in jeopardy. He ventured, if he survived the day, his limbs and liberty upon the fortune of war. The understood condition of every combat was, in the words of the champion of Gath, "If ye be able to fight with me, then will we be your servants; but, if I prevail against him, then shall ye be our servants, and serve us."

'When a property in man was thus established, the practice of seizing and selling the harmless and peaceable very soon commenced. The one facilitated the introduction of the other; but who cannot distinguish between the two? Is there no difference between the claim to a prisoner of war, who had attempted your life, and the title of the Midianite merchants, when they purchased Joseph, an inoffensive youth, from his brethren? Retaliation is the principle of the former;

the latter is the unprovoked infliction of injury. The pure light of the gospel was necessary to discover the evil of the former, which, in the times of ignorance, God winked at, in those who had no conscience of the guilt; the iniquity of the latter, condemned even by heathen moralists, must have been detected by the feeble and obscure glimmering of the light of nature. For the former might have been pleaded the reason of self-defence, the right of reprisals, and even the humanity of sparing the life of a captive; for the latter nothing whatever could have been offered in extenuation. The mighty man of valour in that age might lead home his captives with the conqueror's song, "Blessed be the Lord, my strength, which teacheth my hands to war, and my fingers to fight;" but the reflections of the man-stealer, unless his heart were iron, must have been like those of the patriarchs, "We are verily guilty concerning our brother, in that we saw the anguish of his soul, when he besought us, and we would not hear." There is an essential difference between the two acts of enslaving, though the slavery were the same, as there is between the slaughter of a soldier on the field of battle, and the murder of a traveller for the sake of gold. Joshua was a man of war from his youth; but you can all distinguish him from the murderous assassin.

'Colonial Slavery is the bondage, not of the warrior, but of the kidnapper and man-stealer. Were we to go back to the infancy and earliest rudiments of the world, we could not vindicate it, even by the license of that imperfect state of morals and religion. It is not retaliation, which was then permitted, but the original and unprovoked infliction of wrong. Were we Jews, it is forbidden by Moses; were we heathens, it is condemned by the light of nature. When did the negro race attempt to enslave us or our ancestors? When did their vessels visit our shores, and their armed men burn our villages, break up our families, carry away our children, and doom them to cruel, hopeless, exhausting, interminable bondage? Do you resign your Christianity to justify slavery, by an appeal to the law of Moses, or the license of the patriarchs? Where is even that un-Christian pretext? Had we seized an Algerine corsair, and sold his crew to work the plantations, we might have appealed for our precedent to patriarchal times. But that one race—the most inoffensive, and, from its situation and character, altogether indisposed, and utterly unable even if disposed, ever to interfere with the politics of Europe, should have become the common prey of every plunderer,—should, for ages, have its several tribes bribed and stimulated to mutual wars by a traffic with professed Christians, in order to supply the slave-markets of the world; should, though it had never lifted an arm against its oppressor, have seen its villages in ruins, its rivers and creeks infested with slave-boats, its fields stained with the blood of the wounded and defenceless, its shores watered with the salt tears of its children, torn for ever from the land of their birth and the love of their friends, and transported across the Atlantic to become an oppressed and degraded population, from Virginia to La Plata: this is the burden of Britain, the scarlet and crimson stain of Christendom, the opprobrium of our religion, the blaspheming of our God among the Gentiles. It is pure, gratuitous, unprovoked injury. What to be compared with this was

ever conceded to the hardness of Jewish hearts? What equal injustice was ever tolerated in the ignorance and rudeness of the patriarchal ages? Go out of your place from Jerusalem above, the mother of us all, to Mount Sinai in Arabia, in bondage with her children; as sons of the bondwoman more than the free, consult the schoolmaster of the infant world, in preference to Christ, the teacher of its maturer age; and, from its weak and beggarly elements learn, if you choose, your lessons of morality. Ask Moses, or even the fathers, why the negro may be excommunicated from the family of man?—why his unprovoked wrongs should remain unredressed?—why his wife and children are not his own?—why you may claim, what the conscience and laws of a Christian people dare claim in no other child of Adam, a property and freehold in his flesh and sinews, his life and his limbs?

‘I have alluded to the Mosaic, in connexion with the patriarchal dispensation; but, as the servitude among the Israelites is often adduced in defence of Colonial Slavery, it may require a distinct examination. Slavery was, as we have already seen, not of Moses, but of the fathers. It was a more ancient institute, which we acknowledge he permitted, but did not establish. It had become, at that time, prevalent among many nations; but, as their languages shew, the general idea was, still, the service of prisoners of war, rendered to the conquerors to whose clemency, or cupidity, they owed the preservation of life. As Moses permitted war, I see not how he could consistently have prohibited slavery, in an age when the exchange of prisoners was utterly unknown. The Israelites, indeed, were warriors by a divine commission. The result of their battles must have been either bondage or death. Moses tolerated the smaller evil, slavery, to prevent the greater, indiscriminate massacre. He legislated for a people intrusted to execute the commination of Noah upon the posterity of Canaan, in which some would now unwarrantably involve all the tribes of Africa.’

Halley, pp. 4—7.

That the Canaanites were negroes, has not, so far as we recollect, been gravely maintained by any writer; but it is strange to find biblical commentators, down to the present day, speaking of the descendants, not of Canaan merely, but of Ham, as condemned to degradation and servitude. From the race of Ham sprang the most famous conquerors of the old world; and we have sometimes thought, that the very best pretext that could have been devised by the whites, for reducing the black races to bondage, would have been the plea of retaliation, since the ancestors of the whites were held in subjection by sable lords, when a fair skin was no patent of nature's nobility. The ancient slavery was, however, very impartial in this respect, and, like Mohammed's law of polygamy*, allowed a community of all

* We do not vouch for the fact, that Mohammed sanctioned polygamy with the view of allowing every man who could afford it, to have four wives of different colours, white, black, mahogany, and olive; but

colours. Had the commination of Noah been intended to fall only upon Africans, it must be admitted to have been wholly frustrated, for the supposed curse has taken effect most indiscriminately; nor can the truth of the prediction be supported on such an hypothesis. Phrygia, Syria, Thrace, Illyria, and the hyperborean region of Europe, as well as Spain and Britain, supplied Greece and Italy with slaves; as the market of Constantinople is still supplied with Mamlooks from the region of Caucasus and the coasts of the Mediterranean. If the West India planter wishes to shield himself under classic precedents, he must not speak of the colour of his slaves as making the slightest difference in the matter. If it be right to hold negroes in predial servitude, it must be equally fair and just to sell Christian children in the Turkish market, and to work white slaves at Algiers. But we should greatly wrong the West Indians, did we suppose for a moment, that they found their right over their slaves upon the dark complexion, and crisped hair, and African blood of their *property*. To be white in fact, and *white by law*, are very different things in countries where to be a slave is to be a negro. The following statement occurs in the evidence given by the Rev. W. Knibb before the Select Committee of the House of Lords: 'I dare say it is consistent with your Lordships' knowledge, that many of the present slaves (in Jamaica) are the children of Englishmen and Scotchmen, some of them the sons of the daughters of such persons, and *some of them as white as ourselves*: they get English feelings, and they long for English knowledge, and I think they have an influence on the mass.* This is not peculiar to Jamaica. In the slave States of America and in Brazil, the slaves are of all mixtures of race and all shades of colour. Slavery is everywhere without the slightest foundation in nature. The only line of demarcation between the slave and the free, is the arbitrary though impassable barrier of caste. The chief distinction between the Oriental and the Occidental slavery is this; the Ottoman does not disdain to adopt a slave as his son, while the Jamaica planter has no scruple in selling his own child as a slave! For this, however, the Christian may plead pagan precedents.

'It was quite legal for parents within the Roman territories to sell their children irredeemably as slaves; and it was very common among

such is the policy ascribed to him by a French writer, who contends that it is the only method of preventing the several races from persecuting each other, by placing them all on the same footing. Yet, what better is that common footing than domestic slavery?

* Minutes of Evidence, p. 805. See also p. 251 of our last Number.

those people who had not the freedom of Rome. Greece, however, and especially Arcadia, formed an honourable exception to this disgraceful system How far the sale of children went originally, it is difficult to determine; but, at a very early date, it had the effect of making them slaves as completely as if they had been captives, and not born within the walls of Rome.' Blair, pp. 32—3.

Among the Romans, as in our own Colonies, slavery by birth depended upon the condition of the mother alone; and her master became owner of her offspring, not the less so when he was the father also. In early times, a Roman father was entitled to put even his free-born children to death, as well as to expose or to sell them. A law ascribed to Romulus recognises this extensive power, which is sanctioned also by the Twelve Tables, and remained part of the written law till the reign of Alexander Severus. The sale of children by their parents, under the pressure of want, was legalised by Theodosius the Great; 'but those sold into servitude were to be returned to their original *ingenuous* condition, whenever claimed, and without any compensation to their purchaser.' Justinian, however, re-established the rule of Constantine, which required the parent to give the buyer the value of the child or mother slave. These enactments were obviously intended to check infanticide. The power of the father over his *ingenuous* offspring would seem, indeed, to have been nearly as great as over his bond children.

Upon the whole, slavery, among the Romans, was a condition admitting of many gradations, and it was confined to no distinct caste. As the freeman might be reduced to slavery, or might voluntarily descend into it, so, the slave might hope to emerge from it. Slavery, under any modification, cannot be dissociated from degradation and liability to cruel oppression; but the Roman slavery was an institution which admitted of far greater mitigation, and more readily yielded to the meliorating influence of Christianity, than the colonial slavery of modern times.

It has been questioned, whether the Greek or the Roman servitude was the more favourable to the slave. As to the actual condition, Mr. Blair remarks, between the conquest of Corinth and the reign of Antoninus Pius, the slave at Rome was much less protected by law and public feeling, and had, probably, less indulgence, than the slave at Athens.

'Before the earlier of those eras, indeed, simplicity of manners rendered the treatment of slaves, in Italy, generally good: yet that could not be implicitly relied upon. But, after the adoption, by Antoninus, of one of the best Athenian laws, the servile classes in the Roman territories came to be on a level with those in the Grecian states. There appear to be strong reasons for believing, that the Helots in Lacedæmonia, being the property of the State, and not of in-

dividuals, were permitted to live, removed from the control of their masters, in a condition very similar to that of the Serfs, or *adscriptitii*, under the declining Roman empire. But the temporary relaxation from their bonds which the Helots enjoyed, was as nothing in the scale, when there was thrown in against it, their liability to suffer from the inhuman policy which dictated to the Spartans periodical massacres, as the means of removing their apprehensions at the increase of the slave population.' p. 194.

As it respected the prospect of a change of condition, the Roman bondsman had a decided advantage over the Greek.

' At Sparta, slaves seem to have had hardly any hopes of ever being admitted among freemen. At Athens, emancipation from the dominion of the master was frequent; but the privileges of citizenship rarely followed, even to a limited extent, and were conferred by public authority alone. At Rome, the lowest slave could always look forward to manumission, and to obtaining the rank of a citizen through the sole will of his master. Between the reigns of Augustus and Justinian, it is true, that there existed restrictions, in point of number, upon the master's powers of freeing his bondsmen, and raising them to the station of Roman citizens; yet, during that interval, many might hope for an opportunity of reaching a better condition. And at all times, previous to the limitations of Augustus, and again after the ample encouragement of Justinian, no slave needed to despair of becoming both a citizen and a freeman.' p. 195.

Unlike the Greeks, who, in the pride of intellect and the true spirit of republicanism *, considered slavery as derivable from the laws of nature and the permanent diversities in the races of man, regarding themselves as an aristocracy among the nations; the Romans, who partook more of the military spirit, and to whom law stood instead of philosophy, recognized the national equality of the human species, and confessed the dominion of masters over slaves to flow entirely from the will of society. While the Republic lasted, however, the legal character of the Roman slavery remained uniform and unmitigated; and the slave had no protection against the avarice, rage, or lust of his master. All the changes which had the authority of law, were introduced under the Empire. The master's power of life and death over his slaves, was first sought to be legally abolished by Hadrian and Antoninus Pius. The mutilation of slaves had been forbidden by Domitian. Hadrian suppressed the *ergastula*, or slave-prisons, which seem to have answered to the Jamaica work-houses. They were originally intended for convict or fugitive slaves,

* ' That the condition of a slave is better under an arbitrary than under a free government, is,' Adam Smith remarks, ' supported by the history of all ages and nations.'

but were abused for the nefarious purpose of imprisoning and working in chains kidnapped freemen *. The same enlightened heathen emperor introduced some other important restrictions on the sale and ill treatment of slaves. He even banished a lady of rank, because she was notoriously cruel to her slaves. Constantine prohibited the punishment of branding a slave, which is now practised in the West Indies, not on convict slaves only, but often without the imputation of a crime! He also passed an edict which placed the wilful murder of a slave on a level with that of a freeman, and expressly included the case of a slave who died under punishment, unless that was inflicted with the usual instruments of correction. But this law was afterwards modified. The effect of Christianity in meliorating the usage of slaves, was considerable, even prior to its political establishment †.

Christianity inculcated a salutary care for the spiritual welfare of slaves. The church invited or allowed them to partake of all the ordinances of religion: and their birth was no impediment to their rising to the highest dignities of the priesthood. In early times, it would appear, that slaves, holding the true faith, were taken into the service of the church; like the two slave-girls, mentioned by Pliny, in his celebrated letter to Trajan, respecting the Christians of Bithynia. At first, indeed, it was required, that a slave should be enfranchised, before ordination; but Justinian declared the simple consent of the master to be sufficient. If a slave had been ordained without his owner's knowledge, the latter might demand him within a year; and the slave fell back into his master's power. Nay, if a slave, after ordination with his master's consent, chose to renounce the ecclesiastical state, and returned to a secular life, he was given back, as a slave, to his master. Similar rules applied, originally, to the assumption and abandonment of the monastic habit, by slaves; but subsequently, they were directed to remain three years in a state of probation, after which, their admission into a religious order made them free. We are told, that it was very common, for both ecclesiastic and lay patrons of churches and chapels, to encourage their slaves to become clergymen, that they, in preference to strangers, might receive their benefices: till the practice was condemned, in the fifth century, by the council of Chalcedon. The canon law must, always, have recognised

* Mr. Stephen has shewn that the *ergastuli* were penal slaves, or those on whom that character was fraudulently imposed. See Slavery of the W. I. Colonies, vol. i. pp. 338—358. It is doubted whether, among the agricultural slaves, there were any females. There are no allusions to their being so employed; and there would seem to have been none at least among the *ergastuli*. Liberty, according to the testimony of Columella, was generally conferred upon female slaves who had borne four or more children. See Blair, p. 104.

† Mr. Blair cites at p. 127, the apocryphal Apostolic Constitutions as the work of Clemens Alexandrinus, and a production of the second century. Lardner will set him right on this point.

the indissolubility of marriages contracted by slaves ; but it was not published, as a rule for practice, till a late period ; probably, from fear of injury to slave-owners, by open infringement of their existing rights. Slaves were fully protected in the exercise of worship, and, to a certain extent, in the observance of religious festivals. The liberty and gambols of the *Saturnalia* were transferred to Christmas ; and it is not unlikely, that some of those ceremonies at Easter, by which Princes used to denote their Christian humility, were originally derived from those representations of equality, exhibited in the Pagan feasts of March and December.' pp. 70—72.

'Slaves were, at all times, competent to avail themselves of the temporary protection of sanctuaries. Those were, of old, the temples and altars of the gods, to which the palace and images of the Emperor were, afterwards, added ; and on the change of religion, Christian churches and shrines received the same privileges as those which had belonged to edifices dedicated to Heathen worship. A slave who, dreading the resentment of his lord, fled to an asylum, was safe while he remained there ; and it would have been sacrilegious to drag him away : but, whenever he quitted the sacred spot, he might be lawfully seized by his master. The law of Theodosius the Great, introduced a further security, by authorizing the slave, while in the asylum, to invoke the aid of the judge, and to proceed unmolested to the tribunal, where the merits of his case were to be duly investigated, and the threatened vengeance of his master properly controlled. A Christian church afforded very great safety from the wrath of unmerciful owners : for when a slave took refuge there, it became the duty of the ecclesiastics to intercede for him, with his master ; and if the latter refused to pardon the slave, they were bound not to give him up, but to let him live within the precincts of the sanctuary, till he chose to depart, or his owner granted him forgiveness.' pp. 88, 89.

But to Justinian belongs the merit of having removed most of the impediments to manumission created by his predecessors ; and the spirit of his laws powerfully contributed both to improve the condition of bondsmen, and to promote the extinction of domestic servitude. 'The reformation of the servile code of Rome,' remarks Mr. Stephen, 'was attended with no civil disorders ; because manumissions, through the benign influence of Christianity, became so copious, soon after that manumission commenced, that the slaves speedily ceased to bear a dangerous proportion in number to the free citizens and libertines of the empire.'*

Thus, it appears that Christianity, if it did not violently overturn, gradually dissolved the institution of slavery. 'The heavy chains of personal slavery,' in the language of Bp. Porteus, 'were gradually broken in most parts of the Christian world ; and they that had been, for so many ages, bruised by the cruel and oppressive hand of pagan masters, were at length set free.'

* Slavery of the W. I. Colonies, vol. i. p. 377.

It is admitted, that no passage in the Christian Scriptures actually prohibits slavery; for Christianity, as Paley remarks on this subject, 'soliciting admission into all nations of the world, 'abstained, as behoved it, from intermeddling with the civil institutions of any.' Nor did it denounce the tyranny of Nero. But it expressly forbade the Christian freeman to become a slave by voluntary contract; it authoritatively enjoined the Christian slave to aspire to become a freedman, as well as to glory in his spiritual liberty*; it raised the bond to the same level, in moral dignity, with the free; it immediately multiplied manumissions, and 'operated as an alterative' upon the social system; and, had not its influence been counteracted by those causes which paralysed its own native energy, by deteriorating its purity, it would still more rapidly have produced the extinction of an evil involving the most enormous injustice and the most fatal impolicy.

The influence of slavery upon the social character of the Romans, Mr. Blair shews to have been, in various respects, prejudicial and degrading; and the State was directly exposed, at different periods, to serious dangers from the slaves. He concludes his erudite Inquiry with remarking, that 'on the whole, if 'we consider that several of those corruptions by which Rome 'was undermined had their chief source in the institution of 'Slavery, we must necessarily look upon it as one of the main 'causes of the decay of her empire.'

'Nature created man free,' says Bishop Warburton, 'and 'Grace invites him to assert his freedom.' A golden sentence! Christianity has extinguished the Roman slavery and the feudal servitude. Wherever it has had free course, it has vindicated its heaven-born character, by proclaiming liberty to the captive and redemption to the slave. It shall yet triumph over West Indian heathenism and American prejudice; over the strength of avarice and the pride of caste. It will redress the wrongs of the slaves, and compel a recognition of the equal claims of the blacks. If it could loosen the bonds of *pagan* slavery, shall we doubt the issue of its conflict with the injustice and infatuation of *Christian* slave-holders?

Art. II. *Lectures on Revivals of Religion.* By William B. Sprague, D.D., Pastor of the second Presbyterian Church in Albany. With an Introductory Essay, by the Rev. George Redford, A.M., and the Rev. John Angell James. 12mo. pp. xxiv. 456. Price 5s. 6d. Glasgow. 1832.

NOTHING that the world has ever witnessed, equals the rapid growth of America. There, in a temporal, as well as a spiritual sense, a nation is 'born in a day.' The changes which

* Gal. iii. 28. 1 Cor. vii. 22, 23.

men have undergone during the slow lapse of several thousand years, are there seen co-existing, in the same place, and at the same moment. The savage hunter pursues his rude and primitive occupation in the vicinity of the civilization of the nineteenth century. Towns rise up as if by enchantment in the midst of the sylvan wilderness; and rivers that were crossed only by the canoe, are traversed by vessels more wonderful than the self-impelled galleys of Rhadamanthus, that reached their destined haven in spite of the opposition of the winds and the waves.

With a population so rapidly increasing, and so extensively scattered, over boundless tracts of fertility, which are ever luring the wanderers to plunge still deeper into their solitudes, it is difficult to frame institutions, whether civil or religious, that can keep up with a growth so sudden and so unrestricted.

The religious instruction of Europe is stationary, like its population. America, to remain even nominally Christian, requires an advancement of religion, like its victorious progress during the first centuries of primitive Christianity. In Revivals of Religion, the Americans have found a supply adequate to their peculiar wants. And if, with them, the progress of population is wonderful, the multiplication of vital Christians is more wonderful still.

The nature of American Revivals is well described within a short compass, in a passage which occurs in the interesting life of Mr. Bruen; a publication which, in this country, contained some of the earliest notices of Revivals.

‘Mr. Whelpley’s Church,’ Mr. Bruen writes, ‘is now greatly revived, and many are under powerful exercises of conviction, and some rejoicing in hope. You will understand the whole matter, if you read what Edwards has written. The occasion of this change in the Wall Street church, has been a day of fasting and prayer, which was appointed in view of the desolations of Zion. They sent their Christian salutations and invitations to other churches, that they might join with them in this observance and free-will offering unto the Lord. On the day appointed, the church was filled to overflow, for six successive hours without intermission. The greater part who were there, we may hope the grace of conversion had taught to pray. The ministers, in succession, gave a brief view of the state of religion in their respective churches, and prayed for an effusion of the Holy Spirit. Such breathless, solemn attention I can scarcely hope again to see in my life among so vast a multitude. When Mr. Whelpley arose to address this assembly, in that unpremeditated manner to which he was not used in the pulpit, there was in his whole aspect a bearing and significance, like that of a man consciously in the presence of God. His look was that of one worn out by early labour; the beamings of his countenance were those of a Christian who beheld the throbbings of many Christian hearts. The very tones of his voice, if he had spoken in an unknown tongue, would have been intelligible. He presented to the audience the desolations of that portion of the

field of Zion which he cultivated. He besought them to regard the condition of that church, which, as a fruitful bough, had sent its branches over the wall, which were now bearing fruit all around, while at the root there was decay of moistness and verdure. The appeal was so instinct with energy and pathos, that aged men lifted up their voice and wept. This was one of the most solemn seasons I ever witnessed. A blessing has manifestly and immediately followed.'

Mr. Bruen, in the above quotation, refers to Mr. Jonathan Edwards, and with justice, as the standard authority on the subject of Revivals. All works on this subject, written in America, pre-suppose an acquaintance with his writings. Indeed, when Providence was preparing a new opening for the spread of genuine religion, that admirable divine appeared raised up on purpose to separate the precious from the vile, by applying the test of Scripture to the various appearances of conversions. Proceeding on the principles of inductive philosophy, he formed his judgement of causes by the fullest examination of their effects, and has thus bequeathed the most valuable legacy to after times; since the later revivals differ from those witnessed by Edwards, only in having a wider range and more frequent recurrence.

The later American Revivals have hitherto been known in Britain chiefly by detached and broken accounts of them, occasionally extracted from newspapers and magazines. Though received by some persons with the interest due to the importance of the subject, these distant and imperfect rumours were treated by others with a mixture of indifference and incredulity. What all seemed to require, were facts. At this time, 'the History and Character of American Revivals' by Mr. Colton, appeared: 'a work,' as has been remarked, 'of which the most objectionable part is the 'title-page,' which was probably 'conferred upon it by some 'bookseller,' not much to the advantage of the publication itself, as it led to the disappointment of many readers, and very unfairly to the Author, who avows in the preface, that, for 'a general 'historical narrative,' he was 'altogether unfurnished with the 'necessary documents.' Mr. Colton's is, in truth, an able and spirited work, full of original thought and of heart stirring views of the approaching glories of the kingdom of heaven. It may be so far considered as historical, that it traces the influence of Religious Revivals in America, at the present day, to the noble and devoted spirit of the 'Pilgrim Fathers' of New England, who followed the call of duty and of Providence to a land unknown, and who accounted the promises of God a sufficient portion for themselves and their posterity.

'Indeed,' observes Mr. Colton, 'when I have looked at the flight of the Puritans, as they have been ignominiously termed,—or of our Pilgrim Fathers, as we have reverently called them,—from these shores to that far-off, uninviting, inhospitable continent, as then it was,—I have at

the same time been reminded of the woman in the Apocalypse, who, her child being caught up to God and His throne, herself fled into the wilderness, where she had a place prepared for her of God, that they should feed her there. God has indeed brought a vine out of Egypt, and cast out the heathen, and planted it. He has prepared room before it, and caused it to take deep root. And lo! it has filled the land. The hills are covered with the shadow of it, and the boughs thereof are like the goodly cedars. She hath sent out her boughs unto the sea, and her branches unto the river.' *Am. Revivals*, 2d. ed., pp. 42—43.

One thing may be remarked of Mr. Colton's book, that it is evidently the work of one who has seen religion under more favourable circumstances than we have had the opportunity to do. His views are too glowing for our colder climate, as yet; but Mr. Colton is on the progressive and victorious side. What is an over-estimate now, will become the sober truth in the lapse of twenty or thirty fleeting years. In the prophetic writings, the present and the future are blended, for the commandment is gone forth, and the corresponding event must follow. The following observations on *Public Opinion* are as eloquent as they are just. The conclusion is not altogether applicable to our country: we wish it may be so to America.

'If there be anything in this lower creation with which men have to do, and which has to do with men, and yet too ghostly to be made the subject of a definition, it is *Public Opinion*. Though we cannot tell what it is, no one doubts its existence: though it does not present itself in palpable forms, all men feel it. Its secret and invisible influence operates on every mind, and modifies every one's conduct. It has ubiquity, and a species of omniscience; and there is no power on earth so stern in its character, so steady, so energetic, so irresistible in its sway. Every other power must do homage at its altar, and ask leave to be. The thrones of kings stand by its permission, and fall at its beck. It is a power that lives, while men die,—and builds and fortifies its entrenchments on the graves of the generations of this world. With every substantial improvement of society, itself improves; with every advancement of society, itself plants its station there, and builds upon it, and never yields. Time and the revolutions of this world are alike and equally its auxiliaries, and contribute by their influence to its maturity and increasing vigour. And this is the power which has adopted Christianity, and sets itself up its advocate and defender, in the hands of an Almighty Providence!' *Am. Revivals*, 2d. ed., p. 143—144.

In Dr. Sprague's "Lectures on Revivals," we possess a work of the highest authority. Dr. Woods may be considered as speaking not only his own sentiments, but the opinion of the American divines in general, when he writes: 'I regard it as a circumstance highly auspicious to the cause of revivals, and to all the interests of religion, that the Author has, through the

‘ grace of God, been enabled to write and preach a series of lectures so judicious, candid, and impressive, and what is still more important, so scriptural; and that he has consented to give them to the public.’ The only fault we have to find with Dr. Sprague, is, that he has no faults. It is the business of a critic to find fault, but, as far as Dr. Sprague is concerned, our occupation is gone. As this work is likely to become classical upon the subject, and, both from its own merits and from the attractive form in which it is here presented to the British public, with two admirable essays prefixed by Mr. James and Mr. Redford, promises to have as general a circulation in this country, as it has obtained in America, there is the less need that we should make many extracts from it; but a few portions we cannot resist the pleasure of citing. The summary of former revivals is excellent for its brevity and clearness.

‘ You have already seen, that, instead of being of recent origin, they go back to an early period in the Jewish dispensation; and, passing from the records of inspiration, we find that revivals have existed, with a greater or less degree of power, especially in the later periods of the Christian Church. This was emphatically true during the period of the reformation in the sixteenth century. Germany, France, Switzerland, Holland, Denmark, the Low Countries and Britain, were severally visited by copious showers of Divine influence. During the season of the plague in London in 1665, there was a very general awakening; in which many thousands are said to have been hopefully born of the Spirit. In the early part of the seventeenth century, various parts of Scotland and the north of Ireland were blessed, at different periods, with signal effusions of Divine grace, in which great multitudes gave evidence of being brought out of darkness into marvellous light. During the first half of the last century, under the ministrations of Whitfield, Brainerd, Edwards, Davies, the Tennants, and many other of the holiest and greatest men whose labours have blessed the church, there was a succession of revivals in this country, which caused the wilderness to blossom as the rose, and the desert to put on the appearance of the garden of the Lord. And when these revivals declined, and the church settled back into the sluggish state from which she had been raised, then commenced her decline in purity, in discipline, in doctrine, in all with which her prosperity is intimately connected. And this state of things continued, only becoming worse and worse, until, a little before the beginning of the present century, the spirit of revivals again burst forth, and has since that period richly blessed, especially, our American Church.’ *Sprague on Revivals*, pp. 56, 57.

The following is a conclusive answer to objections which prevail still more in Britain, than in America.

‘ But let us enquire a little further, why the old and quick way, as it is often represented, of becoming religious, is the best. If you mean that you prefer that state of religion in which the dews of Divine

grace continually descend, and Christians are always consistent and active, and there is a constant succession of conversions from among the impenitent, to the more sudden and rapid operation of God's Spirit—be it so; there is as truly a revival in the one case as in the other. But the state of things which this objection contemplates, is that in which religion is kept in the back-ground, and only here and there one, at distant periods, comes forward to confess Christ, and the church is habitually in a languishing state. And is such a state of things to be preferred above that in which the salvation of the soul becomes the all-engrossing object, and even hundreds, within a little period, come and own themselves on the Lord's side?' pp. 57, 58.

There are so many passages that would tempt citation, that the difficulty lies in selection. In turning over the pages, the following useful caution respecting accounts of Revivals meet our eye.

'They are written in the midst of strong excitement, when the mind is most in danger of mistaking shadows for substances; when its strong hopes that much is about to be done, are easily exchanged for a conviction that much has been actually accomplished. Hence, all who are supposed to appear more serious than usual, are reckoned as subjects of conviction; and all who profess the slightest change of feeling, are set down as converts.' p. 243.

We need not add, that the very reverse is the character of Dr. Sprague's own volume, and that if he errs on any side, it is on that of over-caution; a tendency which will not be displeasing to many British readers. Their caution, however, and Dr. Sprague's, may, perhaps, be of an entirely different nature. While they may have a secret and ill-defined distrust of the work of revival itself, *he* only distrusts some of its too florid appearances. He knows that while the servants of their Divine Master are employed in sowing the good seed, the enemy will be equally busy in spreading far and wide his tares. But, if Dr. Sprague is full of caution, he is also full of hope, as appears by the following quotation.

'If you read the prophetic parts of Scripture attentively, you cannot, I think, but be struck with the evidence that, as the Millennial day approaches, the operations of Divine grace are to be increasingly rapid and powerful. Many of these predictions respecting the state of religion under the Christian dispensation, it is manifest, have not yet had their complete fulfilment; and they not only justify the belief that these glorious scenes which we see passing, really are of Divine origin, as they claim to be, but that similar scenes, still more glorious, still more wonderful, are to be expected, as the Messiah travels in the greatness of His strength, towards a universal triumph. I cannot but think that many of the inspired predictions in respect to the progress of religion must appear overstrained, unless we admit that the church is to see greater things than she has yet seen, and that they fairly warrant the conclusion, that succeeding generations, rejoicing in the brighter light

of God's truth, and the richer manifestations of his grace, may look back even upon this blessed era of revivals, as a period of comparative darkness.' p. 54—55.

Dr. Sprague bears abundant testimony to the benignant influence exerted by Revivals both on the body and the mind. He speaks of them as renovating, not only the moral, but the physical aspect of a community. The mind is at once awakened and invigorated; and the soul first rendered alive to the concerns of Religion, becomes afterwards earnest in the general pursuit of truth. 'We find', he says, 'that, in our own country at least, many of the most active promoters of useful knowledge at the present day, are to be found amongst those who have been practically taught the great lesson of human responsibility in a revival of Religion'. Nor can it be otherwise. When the principle of Religion is feeble in the soul, it may, indeed, impede, rather than further the exercise of the intellectual faculties. It is sufficient to cheat the usual motives of exertion, vanity, pride, ambition; but it supplies no new and predominating power to occupy their place. It is merely sufficient to maintain a struggle, but not to acquire a victory. But when the soul, by a strong faith, dwells in near and frequent communion with the Father of Spirits, such loftier intercourse and higher exercise of its faculties, must needs be sustained by an infusion of new life from above; and the healthful power thus acquired, cannot be restricted to heavenly objects alone, but will manifest its increase of energy in the pursuit of Truth, whether secular or divine.

It is satisfactory to observe the harmony that prevails between Dr. Sprague, Dr. Woods, and the twenty other divines who, in this volume, have united their contributions in the support of genuine Revivals. All of them appear convinced that a new and mighty energy is at work on the face of society. All are aware, likewise, of the deep corruption and exceeding deceitfulness of the human heart, which so often changes a blessing into a curse. All are deeply persuaded, that the only way to preserve the power of Revivals, is sedulously to maintain their purity. With many such watchmen on the walls of Zion, we may hope that the devices of the enemy will be frustrated; and we heartily participate in the expectations of Dr. Sprague.

'Brethren, I anticipate for the cause of revivals a glorious triumph; and one ground of this expectation is, that the friends of revivals will labour diligently for the promotion of their purity. I cast my eye towards the Millennial age, and I witness these scenes of Divine love and mercy going forward with such beauty and power, that the eyes of angels are turned towards them with constantly increasing delight. I see the pure gold shining forth in its brightness, and the dross thrown aside, and estimated as nothing. I see the chaff burnt up in the fire, or flying off on the winds, while the wheat is pure, and ripe, and ready

for the garner. I see Christians every where co-operating with God for the salvation of men, in the very ways he has himself marked out; and while he pours out His rich blessings on the church, the church sends back her thanksgivings and praises to him in the highest. May God in mercy hasten this blessed consummation. And may you and I, whom he permits to labour in his cause, count it an honour that we are privileged to direct our efforts towards this high end, and to anticipate with confidence a glorious result.' p. 259.

In the preliminary essays of Mr. Redford and Mr. James, the subject of Dr. Sprague's work is examined in its bearing upon the state of things in this country.

'The fact,' observes Mr. Redford, 'now rendered unquestionable, that the Christian cause is, at the present moment, advancing with a much more rapid march in the great Western continent, requires of us at home, a revision of our resources, and a comparison of our methods with those which have been elsewhere found more successful.'

In prosecuting this revision, Mr. Redford enters into some very valuable ecclesiastical statistics, according to which he reckons, that the churches of England are doubling their numbers in the course of twenty years. Such computations must vary very much in different parts of the country. We fear that we could point out districts where the numbers are stationary; some where they are even diminishing. At best, it is obvious to the most superficial observer, that the result in nowise corresponds to the means employed. This fact is very powerfully stated in the Essay by Mr. James.

'I may be in error, but it is my opinion, that, compared with the prodigious amount of instrumentality employed in this age, the quantity of spiritual effect was never so small. Means must now be counted on no lower a scale than that of *millions*; the gospel sermons preached, the bibles circulated, the tracts distributed, the lessons taught, must all be reckoned by *millions*. Does the work of conversion then, I ask, keep pace with such means employed to effect it? Upon a moderate computation, fifteen or twenty thousand men of truly pious minds and evangelical sentiments are every sabbath day publishing the glad tidings of salvation in the united kingdom, seconded by myriads of devoted sunday-school teachers, and thousands of holy men and women, who visit the cottages of the poor with religious tracts, and for the purpose of religious conversation:—now then, I ask again, do you see a result proportioned to the means? Was not the preaching of the gospel far more effective when it was more rare? Witness the power which attended the sermons of Beveridge and Romaine and Grimshaw, within the pale of the Establishment, and those of Wesley and Whitfield without it.'

How is this to be accounted for? Is there anything in the character of American preaching, that will explain its more successful results? Mr. Redford says:

‘ We have had opportunities of judging of the effects of American preaching upon English hearers ; and it is now, I believe, universally admitted, that it is neither so efficient nor so acceptable as that of our own ministers. I mention this without the slightest wish to depreciate the one class, or to exalt the other. It is here stated simply as a fact. Men whose preaching in America is never without effect, and who can attract the largest assemblies, here, are all but powerless, and leave our audiences wondering what it is that makes such preaching so much more powerful in America than in England.’

One obvious reason is, that the American sermons are too intellectual for the majority of an English audience. In America, as in Scotland, the hearers are all educated, and the preacher trusts that he can carry his point, if he convinces the understanding. In England, a preacher, to make an impression, must reach the heart, if he can ; at least, he must touch the feelings. The intellect of numbers is dormant, from the want of a better system of national education. A more important reason is, that an American audience is prepared for the preacher. Their Revivals have rendered their congregations prayerful. Give an American preacher praying hearers, and we doubt not he would produce abundant effect. We are acquainted with an instance in proof. A congregation in the west of Scotland, struck with the few accessions to their numbers, and fearing that the Spirit of God was withdrawing his influence, commenced a series of prayer meetings for a Revival in their church, and especially in the hearts of the young. Their circumstances, in many respects, did not seem prosperous ; their minister was laid aside by a severe, and ultimately fatal stroke. An American clergyman who had arrived in Scotland, simply to urge some legal claims, hearing of the illness of the minister and the distress of the church, though of a different denomination, offered his services, and was accepted. His preaching was not considered as peculiar, but the result was unexampled for many years in that part of the country. A Revival took place ; the prayers of the congregation were fully answered, and the young became the especial subjects of this work of the Divine Spirit. The fruits of these conversions are as yet (several years having elapsed) considered as permanent. More were added to the church in a few weeks, than had been joined to it in several years. But the country around was not sufficiently sensible of the blessing. Few turned aside to ‘ behold the great sight’. The monuments of Divine Grace remain, but they remain singular instances of the prevalence of prayer.

Men look upon Revivals as some strange and questionable work. We are so much accustomed to a round of ineffectual preaching, that, when Christianity comes in her true shape, opening the eyes of the blind, and giving life to the dead, we are ready to suspect her as an impostor, and conclude that this is not

the religion to which we have been accustomed. But the truth is, we are acquainted with Christianity in a mutilated form. We recognise it as a system of Truths, but we do not experience it as the energy of Immortality. But if Christianity is "the power of God unto salvation", there must be some great omission, when this power is no longer manifested. That omission, we need not doubt, is the restraining of prayer. To preach the Gospel alone, is but half the Gospel. The Truth itself informs us, that men will neither hear nor see, till God unstops their ears, and opens their eyes. But, though nothing can be done without a Divine Power, that Infinite Energy is set in motion by prayer. All things in Scripture are matters of duty. The doctrine of the moral inability, or, in other words, of the *unwillingness* of man to think either a good thought or to perform a right action, does not leave him, in any case, in helpless inactivity. The remedy is pointed out at the same moment as the disease. "Lord, if Thou wilt, Thou canst make me clean", is the cure for the disease of the mind, as, in the Saviour's time, it was the remedy for the diseases of the body. "Be thou whole", is still the perpetual answer of prayer. We have cited Mr. James's remark, that the result is becoming less and less, in proportion to the means employed. Surely there is something deserving of deep attention in God's thus seeming to withdraw his efficient concurrence from the use of means. He will be "inquired of concerning this of the House of Israel". We do not doubt that this solemn pause is preparatory to a great awakening of prayer. The power of Jehovah seems to slumber for a season, that from every part of the earth a cry from his believing people may incessantly arise: "Awake, awake, put on strength, O arm of the Lord; awake, as in the ancient days, in the generations of old." God is now teaching his people a lesson which, it may be hoped, will last them while the world endures. It is, that prayer is the key of all things, and that, in proportion as we ask, so shall we receive. The promises belong to faith in all the immensity of their magnitude, and we enter not into their fulness, only from the failure of faith and of prayer. God "cannot deny Himself." We are not straitened in Him: we are straitened in ourselves. Christianity was founded upon prayer. Before the disciples were sent out on their mission, the Divine Founder of our religion passed the night in prayer. The prayer of agony preceded the Crucifixion, the all-finished work upon the Cross.

Prayer for the descent of the Spirit, preceded the general publication of the Gospel. Prayer without ceasing animated and rendered effectual the ceaseless labours of Paul. Far, then, from considering it as a dark mystery, or evil omen, that the result is not proportioned to the means, we would consider it as only an incentive to constant, fervent, confident intercession and supplica-

tion on the part of the Church. The Promises have long lain dormant through our unbelief; yet they are sufficiently ample to warrant our expectation of the moral subjugation of the world,—the diffusion of the light of Christianity as wide as the light of day,—the removal of the veil that is spread over the face of all nations. The secret of success consists in expecting great things. Those who expect little, receive little: those who expect much, must receive much, if they expect in faith, for their prayers will be in proportion to their expectations. In the worst times of spiritual coldness and decay, men obtain what they pray for; for we must recollect, that the meaning of men's prayers is interpreted by their views. If they ask for an enlargement, or a Revival in the Church, they must interpret their own words; and in general, according to their sentiments of what they conceive to be the fitting progress of Messiah's kingdom, will be the answer to their petitions. Some persons wish that kingdom to be advanced without observation, with silent and almost imperceptible accession of new members from time to time, without noise or opposition; and they have in general what they desire. We have heard of others who have fixed their wishes at fifteen or twenty converts a year; and it has been done unto them, apparently, according to their wish. The American ministers, in many instances, pray for Revivals, understanding by that term, periodical awakenings to religion; and their petitions are answered beyond their expectation. There are a few whose minds are beginning to aspire after still higher blessings; who would seek, by prayer without ceasing, for one long, uninterrupted, and never-ending Revival; and they, when many become like-minded with them, will doubtless obtain their request, if they faint not, but continue instant in prayer.

With respect to Revivals, then, we consider prayer as the great means to be used. Prayer of itself, where the means are prepared, would perform all that is wanting. Prayer will open the mouths of ministers, and the ears and hearts of congregations. Still, with respect to instrumental means, something may be effected by novelty. Not so much through the more vivid impression produced upon the mind of the hearer, as that, by its unexpectedness, it forces those who have long sat careless and sermon-proof, to make anew their choice between death and life, and to make that choice under more favourable circumstances, when many prayers are abroad, and the Spirit of God is moving upon the hearts of men. And for the same reason that the appeal to the conscience, to be effective, must be unusual, it must also be prolonged, that the doubtful preference may be fixed into an unalterable choice. As to what has been termed the machinery of Revivals, we set small value upon it; and in this we appear to have the authority of the most judicious of the American divines upon our side. The Scriptures themselves contain all the measures

which are desirable for their own publication. There are, in effect, but two measures necessary for the conversion of the world; the universal publication of the word, and prayer, without ceasing, that the word should be accompanied with the Spirit.

It would not be easy to ascertain to what extent the necessity of a Revival among ourselves is recognized and felt. We have found that the taught, in many instances, are more sensible of existing deficiencies than the teachers. Too many good men seem sufficiently resigned to the unproductiveness of their own exertions. Others are discontented with themselves and their situation: they have an uneasy conviction that all is not right, but never pursue their inquiries to any assured and final conclusion. A few have done their utmost to revive the work of the Lord in the midst of our land. We may refer for an instance to the successful labours of Mr. James, of Birmingham, the writer of one of these introductory essays, and who, in the present volume, is ably supported by his friend, Mr. Redford. May He who "has the residue of the spirit," raise up many such faithful heralds to proclaim the glad tidings of the redemption of the church, and of the restoration of Zion!

We have spoken of America as needing extraordinary measures of religious instruction, so as to overtake the wants of an ever-advancing population. Britain, if religion is not to decline among us, will soon, on her part, require a new infusion of spiritual life. A rapid change is taking place in the mind of the country. Other objects and pursuits are pressing with a tenfold force upon the thoughts of men. If religious truths are not presented with a new vigour and interest, they are likely to engage but a diminished share of the attention which they have even hitherto experienced from the indifferent. From the changes in politics and the diffusion of science, the interests of this life are assuming higher attractions, and exerting a deeper sway over the imagination and the heart. With respect to multitudes, religion is thus silently retiring to the back ground. The faint impression which it has ever made, becomes still fainter; and its voice, imperfectly heard before, is altogether drowned amid the bustle and agitation of life. Unless the Spirit from on high be poured out upon us, unless more vigorous means are used, and far more vehement supplications offered up, the Church of Christ, divided as it already is into factions, and earnest about things which profit not, will soon become stationary, and then rapidly decline.

Our hope is, that there are still many watchmen on the walls of our Zion, who are not silent either by night or by day. They know from what quarter help must come. Their cry is like that of the prophet, "Awake! Awake! O arm of the Lord;" for they know that, in the first instance, it is in vain to awaken the

slumbering inhabitants of Jerusalem. But when the arm of the Lord has "put on strength," then their second watch-cry shall resound over the city of the Lord: "Awake! awake! stand up, O Jerusalem;" knowing that an Almighty arm is about to "raise her from the dust." And the third and final appeal is for Jerusalem to take the throne that has been prepared for her, even the throne of the world. "Awake! awake! put on thy strength, O Zion; put on thy beautiful garments, O Jerusalem, the Holy City!"

Art. III. 1. *Harmonia Evangelica*. Edidit Edvardus Greswell, A.M., &c. 8vo. Oxon.

2. *Dissertations upon the Principles and Arrangement of a Harmony of the Gospels*. By the Rev. Edw. Greswell, M.A., &c. 3 vols. 8vo. Oxford.

3. *A Harmony of the Four Gospels*, in the English authorized Version, arranged according to Greswell's "*Harmonia Evangelica*" in Greek; with References to his Dissertations on the Same. By Permission of the Author. Intended principally as an Accompaniment to a Pictorial and Geographical Chart (by R. Mimpriss) of the History of the Life of Our Lord Jesus Christ. 8vo. pp. 352. London, 1833.

(Continued from page 22.)

WE proceed, in the present article, to exhibit some specimens of the application of the principles laid down by Mr. Greswell, to the Harmony itself; and in so doing, we shall avail ourselves of the English Harmony which, with his permission, has been constructed upon the model of his arrangement of the Greek text.

Mr. Greswell divides the harmonized evangelical narrative into five parts, as follows:

Part I. Matt. i. ii; Luke i.—iii. 38. Comprehending the space of 31 years; viz. from A.U.C. 748, answering to B.C. 6, to A.U.C. 779, or A.D. 26.

Part II. Matt. iii.—viii. 4; 14—17. ix. 2—9. Mark i.—ii. 22. Luke iii. 1—23; iv. v. John i.—iv. Comprehending one year and six months; viz., from the commencement of the preaching of John the Baptist, A.D. 26 *medio*, to the end of the first year of the ministry of Jesus Christ, A.D. 28 *ineuntem*.

Part III. Matt. viii. 5—13; 18—34. ix. 1.; 10—38. x.—xiv. Mark ii. 23—28. iii.—vi. Luke vi.—ix. 17. John v.—vi. Comprehending the space of twelve months, from the end of the first year of the ministry of Jesus Christ, A.D. 28, *ineunte*, to the end of the second year of the same, A.D. 29, *ineuntem*.

Part IV. Matt. xv.—xxvii. Mark vii.—xv. Luke ix. 18—xxiii.

John vii.—xix. Comprehending the space of twelve months, from the end of the second year of Our Lord's ministry, to the end of the third year, A.D. 30, *ineuntem*.

Part V. Matt. xxviii. Mark xvi. Luke xxiv. John xx. xxi. Comprehending the forty days from the morning of Our Lord's Resurrection, April 7, to the day of his Ascension, May 16, A.D. 30.

This division, our readers will perceive, is purely chronological, and not founded upon any natural divisions of the subject matter of the Gospels. Part I., which comprehends 31 years, occupies only 13 pages of the Harmony, consisting of the first two chapters of Matthew, and the first three chapters of Luke. Within the compass of this brief introductory portion, however, there occur one or two points of considerable difficulty, as regards the exact arrangement and chronology. Mr. Greswell commences his Harmony with the exordium of Luke's Gospel, as Calvin has done; and, with that commentator, he proceeds regularly as far as ver. 55 of the first chapter; but he then introduces, as parallel to ver. 56, Matt. i. 18—25. He then resumes Luke's narrative to ver. 21 of chap. ii., where he inserts the double genealogy given by the two evangelists; and then continues Luke ii. to ver. 38. The visit of the Magi and the events dependent upon it, Matt. ii. 1—23, are next given; and the part concludes with Luke ii. 40—52. Calvin pursues Luke's narrative to the end of his first chapter, where he introduces the genealogies. He then continues Matthew's Gospel to the end of chap. i.; follows this with Luke ii. 1—21; then gives the visit of the Magi, Matt. ii. 1—12; but interposes Luke ii. 22—39 between that verse and vss. 13—23; and lastly, gives Luke ii. 40—52.

The placing of the genealogies is a point of small moment; but their respective position in the two Gospels is deserving of notice. It would have been unnatural and inappropriate for Luke to commence his history with the genealogy of Christ, the circumstances of whose birth are not adverted to before ver. 26. No good opportunity occurs for introducing it, till, on mentioning the age of Our Lord on entering upon his public ministry, this Evangelist appositely connects with that circumstance, his descent by blood from the royal house of David; tracing his genealogy still upward to Adam, as if to represent him as the promised seed of the Woman, in whom all nations of the earth were alike interested. St. Matthew, on the contrary, could not but affix his transcript of Our Lord's legal genealogy as *the heir* of David, through the line of Solomon, and the descendant of Abraham, at the very beginning of his Gospel, as one indispensable proof of that which it was his main object to establish, the Messiahship of Jesus; and he connects it immediately with the miraculous circumstances of his birth. It stands there in its appropriate and

only suitable place, in a work written with a specific reference to that object, as a legal document attesting the validity of Our Lord's pretensions as the predicted Son of David, one of the prophetic marks by which he was to be recognized, and a *sine quâ non*, therefore, in the estimation of the Jewish people. In each Gospel, then, the genealogy occupies its proper place; and the transposition required in a harmony, is the first instance of that disadvantageous sacrifice of the natural arrangement to the artificial, which meets us at almost every step. The legal genealogy might, it is true, have been connected by St. Luke, with his account of the reasons which led to Joseph's repairing to Bethlehem, or with the circumcision of Our Lord; instead of which, the fact, that Joseph was of the lineage of David, as proved by St. Matthew, is merely mentioned Luke ii. 4. But the descent of Our Lord *from Adam*, as given by St. Luke, would have been irrelevant in that connexion, as well as an interruption of the narrative, and is therefore reserved for the place in which it occurs in the text of that Evangelist.

A dissertation is devoted to the apparent discrepancy between the two genealogies, and to some minor critical difficulties, which the reader will consult with advantage. As it was not the custom of the Jews to exhibit the genealogy of females as such, the genealogy of Christ, Mr. Greswell remarks, would not be formally exhibited as his genealogy *through* Mary, but through her husband, who stood in the same relation to the father of Mary, as Mary herself.

'As the *natural* genealogy of Joseph, distinct from Mary's, was exhibited by St. Matthew as the *legal* genealogy of Jesus, so, the *natural* genealogy of Jesus, distinct from Joseph's, is exhibited by St. Luke as the *legal* genealogy of Joseph. The language of this Evangelist is as much adapted to the support of this conclusion, as the language of St. Matthew to the support of the former. For, first, the words *ὡς ὅτι* *ἠπομίζετο*, premised to the account, by setting forth Our Lord as the *reputed*, and not as the *actual* son of Joseph, do clearly imply that the genealogy which follows, apparently *through* Joseph, could not be the natural genealogy of both; and, if it was real in respect to either, it could be only imputed in respect to the other. Secondly, his mode of expressing the relation between the successive links, seems purposely chosen to describe an acquired, as well as a natural relation; for it is such as to apply to both. We have but to suppose that Mary was the daughter of Eli, and we assign a reason why the descent of Our Lord, though in reality *through* Mary, might yet be set forth as apparently *through* Joseph.... It is certain that, as both descended from David, Joseph and Mary were of kin; and, as both standing at analogous points in the lines of this descent, it is probable that they were the next of kin. If the Jewish records did not recognize Mary, though the daughter of Eli, except as the wife of Joseph, her son, who would appear to be his son, must be described accordingly'. Vol. II. pp. 103, 106.

At the same time, as the political claim to the throne of David and Solomon was vested in the line which terminated in Joseph, it was as *his* heir, though not his son, that the Son of David through Mary, united in himself every legal right to the temporal kingdom of Israel; so that, when the rulers of the nation delivered up the legitimate '*King of the Jews*' to the Roman power, declaring that they had no other king than Cæsar, they, in that very act, broke the sceptre of Judah, extinguished the last temporal hope of Israel, and unconsciously afforded a demonstration that the Shiloh had come. It may be alleged, perhaps, that if Joseph and Mary had children, (a point examined in this same dissertation, and Mr. Greswell inclines to the affirmative,) the eldest would succeed to the legal claims vested in the first-born of Mary. But, in the first place, the act of the rulers of the nation, supported by the people, renouncing their king, could not be reversed; and secondly, *his* claims can never terminate or devolve upon a successor, of whom, to adopt the argument and language of an apostolic writer, it is testified that he lives, a perpetual pontiff and a king for ever.

The time of the visit of the Magi is the subject of another erudite dissertation. With regard to its place in the harmonized narrative, it will be seen, that Mr. Greswell introduces that event between ver. 38 and 39 of Luke ii., or *after* the Presentation; while Calvin supposes it to have taken place before the forty days were accomplished, arguing, that Joseph and Mary could have no motive for returning from Jerusalem to Bethlehem. They had come to the latter city for a specific object, viz. to be registered there, but apparently without any design of making it their abode*. It was so ordered, that the birth of Our Lord should take place there; but, when Mary was able to go up to Jerusalem, there was no obvious reason for their returning to Bethlehem, supposing them to have been registered.

Mr. Greswell infers from the limitation of the massacre to children *απο διετους*, i. e. as he interprets it, not exceeding thirteen months, that the star 'could not have appeared *more* than thirteen months 'before the arrival of the Magi, though it might have appeared *less*.' We find him, however, afterwards contending, (forgetful of this last admission,) that, if it first appeared at or after the Nativity, the age of Our Lord, at the time of their arrival, 'could not have 'been less than thirteen months; a conclusion,' he adds, 'which 'would involve the Gospel chronology in insuperable difficulties.' He therefore concludes that the star must have appeared many months before Our Lord's birth. He shews that, according to the rate of travelling in those times, the Magi, if they came from

* '*Stultè enim imaginantur fuisse illic domicilium Joseph, ubi adeo ignotus erat ut hospitium nullum invenire potuerit.*' Calv. in loco.

Parthia or Bactria, would be four months on the road ; and he indulges the conjecture, that the star had appeared nine months before they set out, at the period of the Annunciation. The order of Herod, however, by no means proves that the star had appeared so long as thirteen months before. On the contrary, his sweeping and ruthless edict would doubtless be framed so as to make all sure, by providing against the difficulty of ascertaining the precise age of an infant under a year old ; and we may therefore take the age of thirteen months as the extreme. Besides, the order would not be issued till some time had elapsed. Herod would doubtless conclude, at first, that the Magi were prosecuting their search at Bethlehem and in its vicinity ; he would expect them not readily to abandon their object ; and it would not be till he had actually ascertained their departure out of his dominions, that he would conclude they had found the object of their search, but not returned to inform him of their success. On being convinced of this, his vindictive rage burst forth ; a rage not unmingled with jealous misgivings and alarm. But, by that time, days and even weeks might have elapsed, and Joseph and Mary, as well as the Magi, had escaped out of his territories. The Presentation in the Temple might take place in the interval.* Supposing, then, the star to have first appeared at the time of the Nativity, (which seems to us the more natural supposition,) if the Magi set out immediately, and were not quite six weeks on their journey, they might arrive just before or about the time of the Presentation. But if, as Mr. Greswell supposes, their journey would occupy four months, and some delay took place in preparing for it, they could not have reached Jerusalem till Our Lord was five or six months old. In that case, Joseph and Mary must have returned to Bethlehem after the Presentation in the Temple.

‘ If,’ says Mr. Greswell, ‘ the birth of Our Lord took place at the beginning of April A. U. 750, (B. C. 4,) then it may be rendered presumptively certain’ (a strange expression !) ‘ that the Magi arrived in Jerusalem at the beginning of the following August ; and consequently, in all probability, that the flight into Egypt could not have been delayed much beyond the middle of the same month. The passover was celebrated the next year on Mar. 31, about a fortnight after the death of Herod ; and that Herod was dead before the holy family were instructed to return, is indisputably clear. It is a singular fact, that, in the year after his birth, when Christ the True Passover was absent in Egypt, there was, strictly speaking, no passover celebrated

* Dr. Benson supposes it to have taken place between the arrival of the Magi at Jerusalem and their arrival at Bethlehem ; and he unreasonably assumes, that Herod sent forth his emissaries the very next morning after the Magi had left him, on not finding them return immediately.

as usual in Judea ; a circumstance almost unexampled in the previous history of the Jews. The cause of this anomaly was, the disturbances which ensued upon the death of Herod, and which, by the time of the arrival of the paschal day, had reached to such a height, that Archelaus was obliged to disperse the people, by force of arms, in the midst of their sacrifices.' Vol. I. p. 338, *note*.

Dr. Benson, in his "Chronology of Our Saviour's Life"*, fixes the death of Herod in the spring of J.P. 4711 (B.C. 3.), which answers to the date adopted by Mr. Greswell. Lardner fixes it a year earlier. The arrival of the Magi, Dr. B. assigns, on very precarious data, to the middle of February, J.P. 4710; and he fixes the time of Our Lord's birth in April or May of J.P. 4709, answering to A.U.C. 749 or B.C. 5., which is a year earlier than Mr. Greswell's date. All that the narrative requires for its consistency is, that the birth of Christ took place not less than about a year before the death of Herod; it *may* have been two years; but Mr. Greswell's learned and ingenious calculations will probably be thought to establish with tolerable certainty the date which he has adopted, four years prior to the vulgar era, or J.P. 4710.

Part the Second of the Harmony opens with the sublime exordium of St. John's Gospel, ch. i. 1—18, which forms an introduction not less appropriate to the character and design of *his* Gospel, than the Genealogy does to St. Matthew's; but there is the same difficulty in placing it in a harmony. By making it commence a new part, this difficulty is concealed, rather than obviated. The reader must be sensible, however, of the violence committed in separating verses 15—18 from ver. 19 *et seq.* of the same chapter, in order to interpose, in parallel columns, the accounts furnished by the other evangelists, of the Ministry of the Baptist, the baptism of Our Lord, and the Temptation. The chronology requires this, unless sect. 1. had been postponed till after sect. 7. The fact is, that, although the whole of St. John's Gospel is clearly of a supplemental character, it is the least susceptible of being blended with the other narratives; and Calvin, we cannot but think, decided wisely in excluding it from his Harmony, and reserving it for distinct commentary in an unbroken form.†

* See Eccl. Rev. Vol. xvi. p. 336.

† Doddridge introduces the exordium to St. John's Gospel in his 2nd section, immediately after Luke i. 4, and as a sort of parenthesis between that brief preface and the commencement of Luke's history. This is, perhaps, the best place it could occupy in a harmony. The genealogies, he inserts in sect. 9., immediately after Matt. i. 25. The visit of the Magi, he places after the purification, but, in his notes, treats the true order as doubtful.

In the account of the Temptation, Mr. Greswell adopts the order of St. Matthew as the true one. Yet, it does not follow, he remarks, that St. Luke's account contains a *trajection*; that is, an undesigned and inaccurate transposition. The moral end proposed by the narrative in either, though it must have been partly the same, might have been partly distinct, so far as to require St. Matthew to observe the actual order of the event, and to induce St. Luke to make a corresponding change in it.

‘The order of the temptations is the order of their strength; that is, they begin with the weakest, and proceed to the strongest; for any other order would manifestly have been preposterous. And the end of the whole transaction is, to represent Our Lord tempted in all points, like unto ourselves, yet without sin; attacked in each vulnerable part of his human nature, yet superior to every act, and to all the subtlety of the Devil.’ Vol. II. p. 186.

Now which of the last two temptations was *apparently* stronger, would afford room for a difference of opinion. We agree with our Author, that the third, according to St. Matthew's arrangement, besides being actually the strongest temptation, and one which only the true Christ could have withstood, would also *appear* the strongest in the eyes of a Jew. But St. Luke might have reason to think that, to a Gentile reader, the second would appear the strongest, as the force of the last would not be appreciated, except by those who were looking for a temporal Messiah. To the Gentiles, it might appear in the light of a temptation addressed simply to the desire of honour, wealth, or power, and therefore of inferior strength to the second, which was addressed more directly to the principle of intellectual pride.

‘For the history of their own philosophers could furnish instances of persons whom their natural strength had enabled to surmount the former; but few or none of such as, unassisted by the grace of God, had not fallen victims to the latter. Hence, if St. Luke wrote for the Gentile Christians, as St. Matthew had written for the Jewish, he would as naturally place the second temptation last, as St. Matthew, on the other supposition, had placed the third.’ Vol. II. p. 187.

This explanation is not only ingenious, but, we think, carries with it high probability. At all events, it is much more reasonable to suppose that St. Luke had some design in deviating from the order of St. Matthew, than that he transposed the order through error or negligence, or considered it as of no consequence. If we suppose his order to be the true one, and that St. Matthew's was the deviation from historic precision, we may in like manner conclude, that the arrangement had relation to the specific design of that Evangelist. But we think that the internal evidence is in favour of the former opinion. In order to estimate the strength of the third Temptation, it should be considered, that it was ad-

dressed to him who was by right king of the Jews, in his regal character; and that the offer was made by the Tempter in the semblance of an angel of light; who might lay claim to this power, not as independent of the Almighty, but as the delegated ruler over the kingdoms, agreeably to the received opinions of the Jews respecting the subordinate government of the world by angels, which were supposed to be countenanced by the language of the prophet Daniel.* The words of the Tempter, "For that is delivered to me," imply no higher pretensions than to a derived and delegated authority. And when we add to this, that the very homage which the Tempter claimed as an acknowledgment for the splendid donation, was no more than an Apostle was about to pay involuntarily to a true angel of light, when he was prevented by the heavenly messenger†; we may well conceive that the temptation was one which even a good man, to say nothing of an impostor or an enthusiast, if no more than man, would have found irresistible.

Between the Temptation and the commencement of Our Lord's ministry in Galilee, there occurs a *hiatus* in the first three gospels, which is supplied by John i. 19—iv. 54. Mr. Greswell has devoted several dissertations to the illustration of this supplemental relation, and of the notes of time which St. John's Gospel affords with regard to the duration of Our Lord's ministry. In his *Harmony*, between the fourth and fifth chapters of John, he introduces the events recorded, Luke iv. 14—v. 39, and the corresponding portions of Matthew's and Mark's Gospels, which bring down the narrative, according to his hypothesis, to the close of the first year of the ministry of Our Lord. Accordingly, Part the third of his *Harmony* commences with John v. 1., which he supposes to refer to a Passover. As this is a controverted, and certainly a doubtful point, and one which has employed much learned discussion, we must transcribe the Author's reasons for adopting a conclusion in which he differs from Dr. Benson and some other eminent critics, although the greater number of commentators take it for granted that the Passover is meant. One reason for the contrary supposition is, that the indefinite mention of a feast would not seem likely to designate the principal Jewish festival. Mr. Greswell thus meets this objection.

' I. The absence of the Greek article in speaking of this feast, unless its presence would infallibly have denoted the Passover, proves nothing at all; but leaves the question as open as before. The truth is, that, as the Jewish calendar contained at least three feasts, all of equal antiquity, and of equal authority, the article could not stand *κατ' ἑξοχὴν* before one, any more than before the rest, unless that one had come, in

* See Dan. x. 13, 20.

† See Rev. xix. 10. xxii. 9.

the lapse of time, to be placed, for some reason or other, at the head of the rest; a circumstance of distinction which, as I have shewn elsewhere, from Josephus and from other authorities, (and which St. John's expression, directly after—*ἡν δὲ ἐγγύς ἡ ἱορτὴ τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ἡ Σκηνοπηγία*—contributes critically to confirm,) might have held good of the feast of Tabernacles, but could not of the feast of Passover.

‘II. If the feast, John v. 1. was not the next Passover to ii. 13, the Passover, vi. 4. must have been so; and the feast, v. 1. must have been some feast between the two, and, consequently, some feast in the first year of our Saviour's ministry; *after* the Passover belonging to that year, but *before* the Passover at the beginning of the next: that is, it must have been either the Pentecost, or the feast of Tabernacles, or the *Encænia*, within the first twelve months of his ministry. It could not have been the Pentecost, for, as I have shewn in the last dissertation, our Lord's return into Galilee out of Judæa was just before the arrival of this feast. Nor could it have been the *Encænia*, for the *Encænia* fell out in the depth of winter, at which time no such assemblage of sick and infirm persons, as was supposed at the time of this feast, could have been found about the pool of Bethesda. Nor could it have been the feast of Tabernacles; because at that feast of Tabernacles, and in the first year of his ministry, our Lord was engaged upon the circuit of Galilee. And it is a general argument why it could have been no feast in the first year of our Lord's ministry whatever, that the strain of the reflections, from v. 17 to the end, which were then delivered, would be incompatible with such a supposition. The ministry of our Saviour, and, consequently, the trial of the Jews, must have been going on at least for one year, before the futurity of his rejection, and the consequent fact of their infidelity,—could be so far certain, as to admit of their being argued with, as we find them argued with on this occasion.’ Vol. II. pp. 237, 8.

The remarkable expression which occurs Luke vi. 1, and which has given rise to such numerous conjectures, Mr. Greswell elsewhere shews, agreeably to Scaliger's conjecture, was intended to denote ‘the *first regular* sabbath after the sixteenth of the Jewish Nisan, and consequently, either in, or directly after, the ‘Paschal week.’* If so, he contends, we have in that passage an indication of Our Lord's attendance at a passover which the narrative of Luke (as well as the parallel narrations of Matthew and Mark) proves to have been at least a year before the Passover referred to John vi. 4. He therefore concludes that John v. 1. decidedly points to a previous Passover, the second in our Lord's ministry. In a note, the following additional considerations are

* ‘Rendered according to the genius of the Greek language in its compound phraseology, it denotes, *first after the second*, and not *second after the first*; *primo-secundus*, not *secundo-primus*.’ That is, the first sabbath after the second day of unleavened bread, from which the fifty days were reckoned to the Pentecost.’

See Vol. II. pp. 286—293. So, Doddridge.

adduced in support of this view of the chronology, and in answer to objections.

' Among the arguments intended to prove that the feast indefinitely mentioned, John v. 1., could not be a Passover, none, perhaps, is more confidently put forward, and none is in reality more weak and inconclusive, than the following:—that the events which are recorded in the fifth chapter of St. John, are not sufficient to have occupied a year, and another Passover is mentioned directly after at vi. 4. It would have been strange, indeed, if they had been intended to occupy a year, since it must be self-evident, that very possibly they did not occupy a single day. But this argument proceeds upon the supposition, that St. John's Gospel is entire and complete in itself; and that it neither has, nor was intended to have, any supplemental relation to the rest: a supposition which is purely precarious, and not more precarious than contrary to the matter of fact. The truth of the supplemental relation of this one Gospel in particular, is among the few positions which, happily, do not admit of a question;—and while this is the case, it is not to be considered whether St. John's Gospel, *per se*, between v. 1. and vi. 4., supplies matter sufficient to have occupied a year, but whether St. Matthew's, St. Mark's, and St. Luke's, in that portion of their gospels respectively, the true place of which is between these extremes in St. John's, can presumptively be shewn to have done so. And upon this point, there is so little room for doubt, that the affirmative may be confidently asserted. The interval in question between John v. 1. and John vi. 4. is, in fact, our Lord's second year; and with respect to *that* year, as it was the fullest of incident itself, so its incidents have been the most fully related of any. From its beginning, by the attendance at this Passover, to its ending, by the miracle of the five thousand, there is no part of it which was unemployed, nor the mode of whose employment it is not possible clearly to ascertain.'—Vol. II. pp. 240, 1.

Doddridge adopts a similar view of Luke vi. 1. and John v. 1., as both referring to the same Passover; and he remarks, that this arrangement has at least the advantage over Manne's singular hypothesis, who, supposing the feast of Pentecost to be intended at John v. 1., gratuitously infers, that the whole fifth chapter is transposed, and should come in at the end of the sixth. Calvin inclines to the conjecture that the feast of Pentecost is intended, as agreeing best with St. John's narration, but treats it as uncertain. Dr. Benson thinks, there is very little reason to suppose that the feast referred to was a passover; and he recognises only three during Our Lord's ministry; adopting, as the most probable opinion, that which limits its duration to two years and a half. It is obviously only in relation to this point, that the determination of the question is important. As a mark of time, some stress has been laid upon John iv. 35, which Archbishop Newcome, Sir Isaac Newton, and Doddridge understand as intimating the season of year at the time of Our Lord's journey,

which, if it wanted four months to harvest, must have been in the middle of winter. Whitby, Grotius, Lightfoot, and the present Writer understand Our Lord as citing a proverbial expression; and its connection is thus explained.

‘When the seed is first sown, is it not a common saying, there are yet four months, and the harvest or reaping-time will come? Lift up your eyes, survey the country round about, and be convinced by the whiteness of the fields, that the four months are drawing to a close, and the season of the reaping is at hand. The end which is proposed by the reference to this natural phenomenon, may also be explained as follows. The ripeness of the visible and the natural harvest, now that the period requisite to the maturity of the seed is accomplished, may be an earnest to you of the ripeness of that as yet unseen and spiritual harvest, to bring which to maturity will be the object of my personal labours, but to reap which will be the object of yours; a ripeness, consequently, which will then be complete, when *my* ministry is over, and *yours* is about to begin.’—Vol. II. p. 211.

This exposition makes the journey into Samaria coincident with harvest; either the barley harvest, the first fruits of which were consecrated at the Passover, or the wheat harvest, the first fruits of which were presented at Pentecost. If the former, the feast at which our Lord was present (John v. 1.) might well be, as Calvin supposes, the feast of Pentecost; but this would still require a passover to have intervened between the one mentioned in John ii. 13, and that referred to in John vi. 4, at which Our Lord appears *not* to have been present.

It is observable that, in our Lord's discourse with the Jews, John v. 35, he employs language which denotes that the ministry of his Forerunner was now terminated by his being cast into prison. This event, therefore, in all probability, occurred between Our Lord's leaving Judea and his return to the feast mentioned in verse 1. Mr. Greswell supposes it to have taken place immediately after Our Lord's return into Galilee, as recorded in John iv. A specific reason is assigned for Our Lord's withdrawing himself on that occasion, the jealousy of the Pharisees, and even of John's disciples, having been excited by his growing popularity. The time of that return, Mr. Greswell thinks, was probably not earlier, though it might have been somewhat later, than the 14th day before the Pentecost, A.U. 780, May 16; to which day he assigns the imprisonment of John. And he supposes that event to have taken place while Our Lord was on his journey through Samaria; inferring from the language of the other Evangelists, that, by the time he arrived in Galilee, on this very return, John was already in prison. The language of St. Matthew, however, in ch. iv. 1., seems rather to indicate a *subsequent* departure out of Judea into Galilee, in consequence of

learning the fate of his precursor. He would hear of it on going up to Jerusalem at the feast mentioned John v. 1.; on which occasion he bore that remarkable testimony to his character, as "a burning and shining light." After that, not deeming it proper to expose himself unnecessarily to the malice of the Jews, or the jealousy of Herod, till his time was come, he again "departed into Galilee," (Matt. iv. 12.) and, removing from Nazareth to Capernaum, entered more openly upon his public ministry. It was not till after this period, that St. Matthew's personal acquaintance with Our Lord commenced; and as his testimony as an eye-witness could not have been given to any of the previous circumstances of his Master's public life, this seems to present the most natural reason for his beginning his account of Our Lord's ministry at this period, from which time it assumed a new character, in consequence of his choosing the Twelve Apostles as his constant attendants, and his preaching more openly in the Synagogues in his circuits through the country.

Mr. Greswell, however, taking a different view, makes Matt. iv. 12, &c., and Luke iv. 14, &c., follow John iv.; bringing down the narrative, in his second Part, to the end of Luke v., and including in it Matt. viii. 1—4; 14—17, and ix. 2—9. In his third Part, § 1. comprises John v. 1—47. § 2. consists of the parallel narrations, Matt. xii. 9—14, Mark iii. 1—6, and Luke vi. 6—11. The next two sections proceed regularly; but, in § 5, the ordination of the twelve apostles, Matt. x., Mark iii., Luke vi., is introduced with questionable accuracy. In the subsequent sections, St. Matthew's narrative undergoes very unceremonious treatment, the chapters occurring in the following transposed order; viii. 5—13; xi. 2—30; xii. 22—50; xiii. 1—17; 24—30; 18—23; 36—52; viii. 18—34; ix. 1. 10—34; xiii. 54—58; ix. 35—38; x. 1—42; xi. 1; xiv. As parallel with verses 13—21 of this last chapter, in Sect. 28, the Author introduces John vi. 1—13; continuing that chapter in the subsequent sections, as the conclusion of Part the third. The transpositions above specified are the result of much patient investigation; some are obviously required in order to bring together the correspondent narratives, others may admit of question; but to examine the arrangement in detail, with the reasons assigned for it, would occupy more space than we can afford. Upon examination it will be found, that the transpositions are, for the most part, confined to the didactic portions of St. Matthew's Gospel; that they do not relate to *events*, unless the delivery of a discourse be so called; and that more than half the difficulties of the Harmonist arise from the very unnecessary and (as it seems to us) unprofitable attempt to fix the precise date and locality of all the specimens that are given of Our Lord's sayings and miraculous works.

For instance, Mr. Greswell attempts to determine 'the era' in Our Lord's ministry, when he is supposed to have adopted a remarkable change in his manner of teaching, by speaking to the people in parables; inferring from the words of the Evangelists, Matthew and Mark, that he had never delivered a parable before. This era Mr. G. finds intimated at Matt. xiii. 1—17; and a dissertation is devoted to an elucidation of the subject. Of any such era in Our Lord's ministry, however, we must profess ourselves to be absolutely incredulous. Upon that particular occasion, as doubtless upon some others, he delivered his instructions to the multitude only in that enigmatic form; and upon being asked his reason for speaking in parables, he condescended to vindicate his conduct, by shewing its accordance with a general rule of the Divine proceedings, which makes religious knowledge to depend upon teachableness and obedience. But it is certain, that, on other and *subsequent* occasions, he employed the plainest and most literal language in teaching the multitude; and it is equally certain, that the scope of many of Our Lord's parables was sufficiently obvious to be understood by both the Pharisees and the people; while many of his axiomatic instructions were far more mysterious, and some of those which were deemed the hardest sayings, were addressed to his disciples. The declaration in this chapter can by no means be extended to all the parables, but, as Rosenmuller explains it, seems rather to point to the subject matter of the parables in question, which concerned the future progress and diffusion of the Gospel,—the "secrets of the kingdom of heaven." If this view be correct, it is a matter of no importance, on what occasion, or at what precise stage of his ministry, Our Lord delivered those parables; nor can we perceive any sufficient reason for disturbing the arrangement of St. Matthew, by placing the greater part of the xith, xiith, and xiiith chapters between the dismembered portions of the viiith. If the order of matter observed by St. Matthew be not the real order of time, there must be some principle of arrangement governing the order, which it would be desirable to ascertain. But, while we readily admit that the Gospel of Luke bears marks of greater historical precision and chronological accuracy, as regards the leading facts of the Gospel history, we cannot but retain the opinion, that less stress is to be laid upon the order in which he introduces the 'anecdotal' illustrations of the Saviour's teaching and public life. The manner in which these are introduced, are, with very few exceptions, in striking contrast to the precision with which the historical events are noted: *e. g.* "It came to pass, when he was in a certain city"—"On a certain day when he was teaching"—"Now it came to pass on a certain day"—"And it came to pass, that as he was praying in a certain place." These vague

intimations preclude the idea of any other order than that suggested by some 'principle of association' or selection.

Mr. Greswell, however, is of an entirely different opinion. So far as ch. ix. 50, the Gospel of St. Luke, he conceives, accompanies the Gospels of St. Matthew and Mark; but from ch. ix. 51 to ch. xviii. 14, it goes along by itself, and the intermediate matter is peculiar to this Evangelist.

'The point of time at which St. Luke ceases to accompany St. Matthew and St. Mark, is the return to Capernaum, prior to the last Feast of Tabernacles; and the point of time at which he rejoins them, is with the close of the last journey up to Jerusalem, when Our Lord either had already passed, or was just on the eve of passing out of Peræa, into Judæa. On the same supposition, therefore, of St. Luke's regularity, as before, it follows, that the whole intermediate matter, peculiar to his Gospel, belongs to the interval of time between that return to Capernaum, and that passage from Peræa to Judæa;—an interval which, as we have had reason to conclude already, could not comprise less than the last *six* months of Our Saviour's ministry, and possibly might comprise even more.

'Throughout the whole of these details which we suppose to be thus comprehended, there are numerous historical notices,—some express, others implicit,—which demonstrate that Our Lord, all the time, was travelling and teaching,—and travelling and teaching upon his way to Jerusalem. There are evidences, therefore, that a journey to Jerusalem, all this time, was still going on, and going on with the utmost publicity; a journey expressly undertaken in order to arrive at Jerusalem;—and wheresoever it might have begun, and whatsoever course it might take meanwhile, yet known and understood to be tending to that one point, and ultimately to be concluded by arriving there at last. There are, consequently, evidences of a circuit, as such; and, if it is a circuit belonging to one and the same occasion, of a circuit begun and conducted on a very general scale;—the *fourth* of the kind which the Gospel-history has yet supplied.

'All these indications are of manifest importance, in fixing the period to which the whole of Luke ix. 51—xviii. 14. inclusively is to be referred.' Vol. II. pp. 457—9.

The regularity of Luke's Gospel, up to ch. ix. 51, being, in the Author's opinion, fully established, he feels warranted in assuming its regularity for the remainder; and the twelfth chapter contains, he thinks, numerous decisive indications of belonging to the concluding portion of Our Lord's ministry.

'If the proof of this position can be made out, the error committed by such schemes as place it before even the beginning to teach in parables, which was the middle of Our Saviour's ministry, must be apparent without any further comment. They introduce an anachronism of nearly eighteen months in extent.' Vol. II. p. 534.

In attempting to substantiate this novel view of the regularity of St. Luke's Gospel, Mr. Greswell displays abundant ingenuity and learning; but we are compelled to say, that his reasonings sometimes involve too large a portion of assumption to be entirely satisfactory. The hold which his theory has upon his imagination, is apparent in his easy reliance upon proofs of a very slender character. But we must waive further criticism, and hasten to a conclusion.

Part the Fourth of the Harmony, which comprises the larger portion of the Gospel narrative, commences with Matt. xv. and Mark vii, and proceeds regularly to Matt. xviii. 35, where it takes up the supplemental relation contained in John vii.—xi. It then proceeds with Luke ix. 51—xix. The four narratives then begin to run parallel, till, at § 87—91, we reach the exquisite and precious supplementary relation of the Conversation in the Supper Chamber, supplied by St. John. The accounts then re-unite, and are brought down to the eve of the Resurrection.

Part the Fifth contains the accounts of the Resurrection and Ascension in the final chapters of the Gospels.

In order to form a harmonized chronology of the four Gospels, the plan which would involve the least violence to the inspired documents, would be, to select simply those portions which record the facts relating to Our Lord's birth, life, suffering, resurrection, and ascension, leaving all the discourses and minor incidents as they stand. So far as regards the credibility of the Gospel history, the agreement of the witnesses as to these facts, is all that it can be necessary to establish. For the purposes of exposition and annotation, we are persuaded that the original form of the several documents is every way preferable.

The value of Mr. Greswell's erudite and multifarious researches, however, depends but little upon the ideal perfection of his hypothesis for harmonizing the evangelical documents. His Harmony forms but a portion of the valuable critical apparatus which he has constructed, for the benefit of the Biblical student; and taken together with the Dissertations, it will enable the reader to make himself master of the whole range of inquiry relating to the chronology of the New Testament, and the structure and composition of the Gospels. We are conscious of having given but an inadequate account of the contents of these volumes; but we have said enough to commend them to the attention of every scholar. Of Mr. Mimpriss's Harmony, we shall take another opportunity of speaking, in noticing his admirable Pictorial Chart.

Art. IV. *Hints for an Improved Translation of the New Testament.*
By the Rev. James Scholefield, A.M., Regius Professor of Greek
in the University of Cambridge. 8vo., pp. 98. London, 1832.

‘ **I** F we will be sonnes of the Trueth, we must consider what it
‘ speaketh, and trample upon our owne credit, yea, and upon
‘ other mens too, if either bee any way an hinderance to it.’
So say the Translators of the common English Bible in their
preface; and in this avowal they have furnished, not only for
themselves, but for all other persons who seriously and diligently
address themselves to a similar employment, a substantial and
ample ground of apology. But the manner in which they speak
of their predecessors, is a sufficient proof that the circumstances
in which they found the impulse to their own labours, had no
tendency to impair the veneration which they felt to be due to
those who had ‘traveiled in this kinde’ before them. ‘We
‘ acknowledge them,’ they say, ‘to have been raised up of God,
‘ for the building and furnishing of his church, and that they
‘ deserve to bee had of us, and of posteritie, in everlasting re-
‘ membrance.’—‘Therefore blessed be they, and most honoured
‘ be their name.’ The extreme deference with which the Author
of these ‘Hints’ regards the memories and the services of the
Translators whose errors he would correct, and whose deficiencies
he would supply, is strongly expressed in the following passage
of his ‘Preface.’

‘ Nor let it for a moment be supposed, that such an attempt implies
a shadow of reproach upon the original Translators. For myself, I
would rather blot out from the catalogue of my country’s worthies the
names of Bacon and Newton, than those of the venerable men, who
were raised up by the providence of God, and endowed by his Spirit,
to achieve for England her greatest blessing in the Authorized
Translation of the Scriptures. If in the following pages, the professed
object of which is to express opinions on minor points differing from
theirs, I have dropped any expressions in speaking of them, which even
an unkind criticism can charge with any thing like flippancy, or the
want of the most grateful veneration for them, I would gladly, if it
were possible, wash out with my tears the obnoxious passages, and
rather leave their glorious work soiled with its few human blemishes,
than attempt to beautify it at the expense of their well-earned renown.
But I have thought that, in entire consistency with the honest sin-
cerity of this feeling, something might be attempted towards carrying
a little nearer to perfection, a work which is already so near it.’

Neither in the spirit which pervades these ‘Hints,’ nor in any
of the emendations suggested by the Author, will any thing be
found to shew that he has for a moment forgotten this profession
of reverential respect. The ‘Authorized Translation of the Scrip-

'tures' is certainly not a faultless work; but many errors have, without foundation or reason, been attributed to it; many blemishes, too, have been incorporated with it in the modern editions, for which the Translators are not answerable. In the strictures which some zealous critics have put forth on the Common Version, there is, to say the least, a very unnecessary severity. We are not acquainted, for instance, with any Protestant translation of the Bible which could furnish occasion to question, 'whether it would not be safer to take the Bible out of the hands of the common people, than to expose them to the danger of drawing false conclusions from erroneous translations.' Still less are we able to perceive, how such a doubt should be raised from the most intimate acquaintance with the text accessible to the people of this country, and so abundantly distributed among them. Justice ought to be rendered to King James's Translators; and we would much rather unite with Professor Scholefield in applauding them, than give our suffrages in favour of those emendators who, by ostentatious displays of minute and questionable criticism, would injuriously depreciate the excellence of the work which we possess, as the result of their combined learning and judgement, and the fruit of their industry and perseverance.

But, without disparaging the services or derogating from the honours of the Authors or Editors of the Common Version, we feel that neither should they engross our praises, nor hold in our remembrance an exclusive place. Nor, if we should claim for other names which are indelibly associated with the English translations of the Scriptures, a warmer and more elevated commendation than we bestow upon the memories of the former, should we be violating the demands of equity, or offending against the law of Christian charity. If the Translators of the Common Version be entitled to honour, the names of Tyndal and Coverdale are worthy of more abundant honour. The work which they respectively performed, and the circumstances in which they executed it, have only to be brought before us, that we may see the justice of the decision which, in assigning their respective honours, awards the superiority to Tyndal. The Common Version was produced by the united labours of fifty-four divines, who engaged in this service under the smiles and fostering patronage of James I. They were furnished with the royal mandate as the means of procuring them all necessary assistance and support;—were to be entertained in such colleges as they might make choice of, without any charge unto them, and to be freed from all lectures and exercises; and care was taken for their subsequent preferment. But in Tyndal's case, the wall was built in troublous times. He had to count the cost of his enterprise, and put his life in peril by the undertaking which he projected. Obligated by the necessities to which he was reduced, to leave his country, he sought a

foreign asylum, and prosecuted the work of translating and printing the New Testament, not only without either royal or episcopal countenance, but with the civil and ecclesiastical authorities in hostility to his design, and not less his personal enemies. His good was evil spoken of. His laying the Scriptures before the eyes of the people 'in their mother tongue, that they might 'see the processe, order, and meaning of the text,' was denounced as an iniquity; and the book, when published, was prohibited as pernicious, pestilent, and scandalous. He himself was persecuted as a heretic; endured an imprisonment of eighteen months; and then, ten years after the first publication of his New Testament in English, was strangled, and his body consumed to ashes! Such services and such sufferings are never to be forgotten.

A revision of the Common Version of the Bible has been frequently called for by writers who have animadverted on its defects and errors. Translations of detached portions of the Scriptures, including almost every book, have successively appeared, the authors of which express a decided opinion in favour of an improved version of the whole sacred Volume. Whether ever such a work shall be attempted, and completed, 'by his Majesty's 'special command,' may, we think, be doubted. The present Authorized Version will probably maintain its designation and its form for a long time to come. One means, however, of its improvement is both desirable and practicable: the variations which the different editions of it exhibit, may be corrected, and the text amended in such manner as to restore it to its original state. The curators and printers to whom the monopoly of the English Bible has been granted, seem to have had but little of a common understanding and communication with each other in respect to the preservation of its integrity. The Syndics of the Cambridge University press are, we believe, employed in revising the text of their editions; an example which will probably be followed at Oxford and London; and from these collations we may expect the removal of many discrepancies from the Common Version, which now disfigure the several impressions of its text.

Professor Scholefield's *Hints for an Improved Translation of the New Testament* are entitled to attention; but they are, on the whole, of less value than, in the present state of Biblical criticism, might have been anticipated, and cannot have assigned to them a very distinguished place among the productions by which we are assisted in our study of the New Testament. But few of the corrections proposed in these pages, are essentially original; and a very considerable number of them may be seen in the amendments adopted by modern translators. Not a few passages on which we should have been desirous of learning the opinions of the Professor, are passed by without notice. In every part,

however, of these notes, we observe a judicious treatment of the subjects brought under discussion; and there is scarcely an emendation proposed, to which we should be prepared to hazard an objection.

Many of the alterations proposed in these 'Hints,' particularly in the Gospels, respect the insertion of the definite article; and most of the instances adduced, are to be found in the corrections introduced by modern translators, "In the ship," Matt. iv. 21. "Into the mountain," v. 1. "The bushel," the "candlestick," v. 15. "Upon the rock," vii. 24, 25, &c. The propriety of such corrections is quite obvious. Nothing can be more careless or capricious than the practice of the Translators in the Common Version. In Matt. i. 20, we have "the angel of the Lord." So they read in chap. ii. 13; but in vs. 19, we find "an angel of the Lord." The noun is anarthrous in all the three passages, and the rendering should therefore be "an angel of the Lord." In his 'Doctrine of the Greek Article,' Middleton remarks on Matt. xiii. 2, that in this, and in some other places of the Evangelists, we have *πλοῖον* with the article. The fact is, that, with but two exceptions, the noun has the article uniformly prefixed. In Matt. xiv. 13, *πλοῖον* occurs, which is correctly rendered, "by ship;" and the other instance is Luke viii. 22, in reference to which, by a remarkable oversight, Middleton says, p. 219: 'In one Evangelist, Luke v. 3, we find a ship used by our Saviour for the very purpose here mentioned (to be in waiting for him), declared expressly to be Simon's: and afterwards, in the same Evangelist, viii. 22, we have τὸ πλοῖον definitely, as if it were intended that the reader should understand it of the ship already spoken of.' The absence of the article in this passage, is somewhat of a difficulty, as we might, indeed, presume from Middleton's confident assumption of its presence. Compare Matt. viii. 18, &c. Mark iv. 35, &c.

At Matt. iv. 1, Middleton, in his work on the Greek Article, reads ὑπὸ τοῦ Πνεύματος by the Holy Spirit, observing that so all Commentators now understand it; and on the parallel passage in Luke iv. 1, he remarks: 'As the reading now stands, I am inclined to interpret πνεῦμα of the Person called the Holy Spirit, and to make ἐν equivalent to ὑπό, signifying *through the agency of*, a common Hebraism.' In what sense the Translators of the Common Version understood the words of the Evangelists, it may be difficult to determine. The editions of this Version accessible to us at the present moment, exhibit very remarkable differences. In all the first three Gospels (John omits the history of the temptation) the term πνεῦμα has the article prefixed. The Bishop's Bible determines the meaning in Luke iv. 1: '*Jesus being full of the Holy Ghost, returned from Jordane, and was ledde by the same spirit into the wilderness.*' The earliest date

of our first copy of King James's Version, is London, 1620, which reads in Matt. iv. 1, "spirit," in Mark i. 12, "Spirit," and in Luke iv. 1, "spirit." Another copy of a later edition, 1639, has in Matt. "Spirit," but "spirit" in the parallel passages. In one Cambridge edition, 1805, we have "Spirit," in all the three places; and so reads the edition of 1819; but that of 1831 has in Matt. and Mark, "spirit," while in Luke the reading is "Spirit." In most of the Oxford editions which we have collated, the reading in Matt. and Mark is "spirit," but in Luke "Spirit." In the same manner the term appears in the recent London editions. In the Oxford Bible of 1765, we have "spirit" in all the three passages. Rom. i. 4, is in this same manner varied in sense in different copies of the Common Version, some reading "Spirit of holiness," and others "spirit of holiness."

Vs. 23. Here the Common Version reads:—"all manner of sickness and all manner of disease." In Chap. ix. 35, the same words are rendered, "every sickness and every disease." A uniform rendering is desirable:—"every kind of sickness, and every kind of disease."

Vs. 24. "Possessed with devils," and so throughout:—"vexed with a devil,"—"an unclean devil,"—"casting out a devil." Passages of this kind are passed by without notice in the 'Hints.' We find, however, in the Author's remarks on 1 Tim. iv. 1, 2, "Doctrines of dæmons," substituted for "Doctrines of devils;" from which we should infer his readiness to correct the Common Version in the other instances in which they use the discarded expression. The distinction of the original should be preserved in the Version: *διάβολος* and *δαιμόνιον* are never confounded.

Ch. v. 17. "I am not come to destroy, but to fulfil." There is a considerable number of passages in the Common Version, in which the transposition of the negative adverb would be an improvement of the English text. "I am come, not to destroy, but to fulfil." "I am come to call, not the righteous, but sinners to repentance." ix. 13. "I am come to send, not peace, but a sword." x. 34. "The Son of man is come, not to destroy men's lives, but to save them." Luke ix. 36. The reading in this verse, in some editions of the Common Version, is, "the Law or the Prophets;" in others, "the law or the prophets."

Ch. vi. 13. The doxology is not found in the parallel passage of Luke's Gospel, and is rejected by Biblical critics, who regard it as an interpolation introduced from the liturgies of the Greek Church. We take this notice of it for the purpose of remarking on the entire absence, in these "Hints," of all reference to the subject of the various readings of the New Testament. This seems to us an omission of some consequence in the work of a Regius Professor of Greek in an English University, written for the purpose of suggesting improvements in the translation of the

most important portion of the sacred Scriptures. No opinion is anywhere in these pages delivered by the Author on the claims of words and sentences to a place in the sacred text. Even 1 John v. 7. is passed by without a single observation. A translation of the New Testament could not be satisfactorily undertaken or offered to the public, but by competent persons who must necessarily conduct their work with a constant reference to the original text; and the received Greek text, adopted from the Elzevir impression of 1624, would not be allowed as the standard to which the New Version should be made conformable. Since that date, more than two centuries have elapsed, in the course of which an immense expenditure of everything most valuable to men of learning has been devoted to the criticism of the Bible. Those labours would not, indeed, be altogether lost, if the results of them should never be seen in a Common Version: they are available to the Christian scholar, who, however, is not entitled to a monopoly of the advantages to be derived from them. Until, therefore, they shall be rendered generally serviceable, in furnishing a corrected vernacular text, there will be wanting the grateful and proper return which is answerable to such labours and such sacrifices. From a Greek Professor in an English university, we might surely expect to receive, in such a work as the present, the means of assisting us to appreciate the value of the most important various readings in Wetstein and Griesbach. Hints for an Improved Translation of the New Testament, should not be limited to the manner of rendering the *Textus Receptus*.

Matt. xiv. 20. "fragments;" but, in Chap. xv. 37, "broken meat." This is the reading in Mark viii. 8: but in Luke ix. 17, we again have "fragments." "Fragments" should be the rendering in every place.

Ch. xix. 28. The editions of the Common Version exhibit a variety in the construction and sense of this verse. In some copies we find: "That ye who have followed me, in the regeneration when the Son of man shall sit in the throne of his glory." In others: "that ye who have followed me in the regeneration, when the Son of man shall sit in the throne of his glory." And in a third class: "that ye who have followed me, in the regeneration, when the Son of man shall sit in the throne of his glory."

'Ch. xx. 11. *The good man of the house, τοῦ οἰκοδεσπότου.* "The householder." So translated v. 1. in the introduction of the parable; and the variation is not only needless, but has a quaintness in it not calculated to recommend it.'

This is the only place in the gospels where this correction is required; but there are some passages in which the rendering, "master of the house", should be inserted, instead of the quaint

expression employed by the translators. Chap. xxiv. 43. Mark xiv. 14. Luke xii. 39. xxii. 11. Campbell has, 'landlord,' Matt. xxi. 33. Wakefield, occasionally, 'master of the family.'

Ib. 23. 'But it shall be given to them *for whom*—ἀλλ' οἷ.. 'Except to those for whom'—By foisting in the supernumerary words, we make the passage contain a doctrine directly contrary to other places of Scripture: ex. gr. John xvii. 2. Revelation iii. 21.'

Both Campbell and Wakefield, as well as some other modern translators, read, 'unless to them for whom.' This is the reading of the authors of the first English New Testament. 'Is not myne to give, but to them for whom it is prepared of my father.' Tyndal. 'Is not myne to gyve to you but to which it is maad redy of my father.' Wicklif.

'Mark x. 14 (= Matt. xix. 14.) *For of such is the Kingdom of God.* τῶν γὰρ τοιούτων ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ Θεοῦ. 'For to such belongeth the kingdom of God.' The common translation is at best ambiguous; but probably no one, who should first become acquainted with the sentiment from the Greek, would hesitate to affix to the words the sense expressed by the proposed rendering.'

In both passages, the reading of the Bishop's Bible is, 'For to such belongeth the kingdome of God.'

XIII. 9. 'For they shall deliver you up to councils; and in the synagogues ye shall be beaten. παραδώσουσι γὰρ ὑμᾶς εἰς συνέδρια καὶ εἰς συναγωγὰς δαρήσεσθε. 'For they shall deliver you up to councils and to synagogues; and ye shall be beaten.' It is most unlikely that εἰς συνέδρια and εἰς συναγωγὰς should be thus connected together both by juxtaposition and the use of the same preposition, only to be disjoined and brought into different forms of expression as in our translation. The parallel place in Luke xxi. 12. is παραδίδόντες εἰς συναγωγὰς καὶ φυλακὰς. Dr. Doddridge's paraphrase of εἰς συναγωγὰς is, "the inferior courts in the synagogues." The want of the copula before δαρήσεσθε seems to have misled our translators as well as many editors, and Griesbach among them: but though I have inserted it in the proposed version, any one, upon consulting the original, will perhaps consider the omission of it *there* not only allowable but emphatic.'

The grounds of this correction, and the propriety of the remark on the absence of the copula, are very clear. The Bishop's Bible reads: "For they shall deliver you up to councils, and to synagogues, and ye shall be whipped."

'Luke i. 48. *Shall call me blessed.* μακαριοῦσί με. 'Shall call me happy.' Let us hear the unseasonable vaunt of the Roman Catholic Church upon this pious declaration of the Virgin. "These words are a prediction of that honour which the church in all ages should pay to the blessed Virgin. Let Protestants examine whether they are in any way concerned in this prophecy." Note in the Douay Bible.—Now,

will it be believed, that this simple word upon which these learned annotators ground the claim of the Virgin to divine honours, occurs in James v. 11. in a sense too plain to be mistaken? *Behold, we count them happy (or, call them blessed) which endure.* In both places, it predicates not honour, but happiness.—There is not a shadow of objection to the received translation in the passage of Luke, but that which arises from its awful abuse by the Papists.

The Rhemish Translators are less courteous than their Douay brethren:—‘*Shall call me blessed.*’ This prophesie is fulfilled, ‘when the Church keepeth her Festival daies, and when the faithful in al generations say the AVE MARIE, and other holy antems of our Lady. And therefore the Calvinistes are not among those generations which call our Lady blessed.’ There can be no doubt about the meaning of the word. The adoration of the Jews would be quite as proper as the adoration of the Virgin: *μαναριοῦσιν ὑμᾶς παντα τὰ ἔθνη.* “All the nations shall call you blessed.” Malachi iii. 12. ‘Will call me happy,’ is Wakefield’s rendering, Luke i. 48. Campbell reads, ‘will pronounce me happy.’

ii. 38. ‘*Coming in.*’ *ἐπιστᾶσα.* ‘Standing near.’ The common translation, besides being incorrect, apparently contradicts the statement of the preceding verse, that she *departed not from the temple.*’

The proposed alteration is questionable. In Chap. x. 40, *ἐπιστᾶσα* seems to denote *coming to*, rather than standing near, and there can be no doubt of the verb being used of motion towards. There is no contradiction between the sense of the passage in the common version, and the statement in vs. 37th. Anna might not depart from the temple, and yet might go from one division or apartment of it to another. The disciples after Christ’s ascension, chap. xxiv. 53, were “continually in the temple”; which, however, is not to be so construed or explained as if they never at any time left it. In both cases, the expression is probably used to signify regular attendance on the temple worship.

iv. 26, 27. ‘*Save, saving.*’ *εἰ μὴ.* “But.” The mistake in the authorized translation is not an unnatural one, but the effect of it is most unfortunate. It introduces a direct blunder, by making the passage state, that Elias was sent to none of the Israelitish widows, except to a Sidonian widow. And so of the lepers.—But the fact is, that though the natural and common sense of *εἰ μὴ*, is *except*, it is also not uncommonly used, as here proposed, in a sense not of limitation, but exclusion. So, Gal. ii. 16. *A man is not justified by the works of the law, but (εἰ μὴ) by the faith of Jesus Christ;* where the learned Bishop of Salisbury has mistaken the sense of the particles *. So in Aristophanes, *Equit.* 185, 6.

* Primary Charge, 1828. p. 79.

μὴν ἐγκαλῶν εἰ καὶ καλῶν ; — μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς,
εἰ μὴ ἢ πονηρῶν γ' —

As the reading is admirably restored by Professor Bekker.—I will not enter further into this criticism here, having more fully investigated it in my remarks on Bishop Burgess's translation of the passage in Galatians ; but will only stop to remark, that this use of εἰ μὴ appears to be elliptical. *Are you born of good parents?—No, (I am not born of any) except base ones.**

xxii. 31. “ And the Lord said, Simon, Simon, behold, Satan hath desired *to have* you, that he may sift *you* as wheat : But I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not.” The emphatic repetition of the Apostle's name in this monitory address, and the modern usage in respect to the pronoun, by which the singular and the plural are confounded, may here mislead readers, as we have known some to be misled. ‘ You,’ ὑμας, refers to the whole of the disciples, and both Campbell and Wakefield convey the sense by the supplementary addition, ‘ to sift you *all* as wheat.’

xxiii. 32. This verse appears in different forms in the Common Version, some editions presenting a punctuation which others do not exhibit. We have, “ And there were also two other malefactors led with him to be put to death,”—and,—‘ two others, malefactors, led.’

50. A good man, and a just. ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς καὶ δίκαιος. A good and just man.

54. The preparation. παρασκευή. In John xix. 31, the Preparation ;—vs. 42. preparation day.

Acts i. 20. ‘ *Bishoprick.*’ τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν.

In Chap. xii. 4., Professor Scholefield very properly expunges ‘ after Easter,’ and adopts the correct reading, ‘ after the Pass-over.’ We rather wonder that he has passed by the present passage, the error of which is so obvious and strange. A reader would weary himself in his perusal of the ‘ Book of Psalms,’ without finding ‘ Bishoprick’ in any part of it. The authority of King James prevailed here above the judgement of the Translators ; else, in so very plain a case, the reading which they have thrown into the margin had been the only one sanctioned by them. One of his Majesty's rules directs, that the old ecclesiastical words shall be kept, and so antiquity and prejudice were honoured more than truth.

On the Epistle to the Romans, the Hints are very few. Many passages in this epistle are so intricate, and so difficult of explication, that every intelligent reader who seeks to understand them

* Preface to Two Sermons on Justification by Faith. pp. 30, 35—7.

clearly, will be glad to receive as much philological and critical light as the most accomplished annotator may be able to reflect upon them.

‘ Chap. v. 20. *Moreover the law entered.* νόμος δὲ παρεῖσθαι. ‘ And the law entered incidentally.’ I am aware that this expression will hardly suit the general simplicity of style which so admirably characterizes our authorized translation ; but it is better than another, which is perhaps still more correct, *entered by the by.* Our Translators seem to have intended to express the *παρὰ* by *moreover.* Bishop Middleton objects to *παρεῖσθαι* being applied to the Law of Moses, because that, instead of *entering privily*, came in with much pomp and notoriety. But I consider the sense of it to be, that when sin had entered, the direct and obvious method would have been, to introduce the gospel as its great counteraction and remedy ; instead of which, the law came first to answer a collateral end, viz. to aggravate the evil and make it more manifest and desperate, that men might be most effectually prepared to welcome the blessing. Thus it was an *indirect* step towards the accomplishment of God’s ultimate purpose.’

‘ 1 Tim. ii. 6. *To be testified in due time.* τὸ μαρτύριον καιροῖς ἰδίαις. ‘ Which is the testimony for his times.’ The difficulty of this passage is confessed by all, and is not a little increased by the presence of the article. I understand it to mean, that the great fact of Christ’s having given *himself a ransom for all*, is that which is to be testified by his servants *in his times*, i. e. in the times of the gospel : it is to be the great subject of their preaching. Compare Titus i. 3. The words *καιροῖς ἰδίαις* occur in a sense a little different from this in Chap. vi. 15. of this Epistle.’

‘ iv. 1, 2. *Doctrines of devils ; speaking lies in hypocrisy : having their conscience seared with a hot iron.* διδασκαλίαις δαιμονίων, ἐν ὑποκρίσει ψευδολόγων κεκαυτηριασμένων τὴν ἰδίαν συνείδησιν. Doctrines of dæmons, through the hypocrisy of liars, who have their own conscience seared with a hot iron. If the construction followed by our Translators be admitted, of course *ψευδολόγων* must agree with *δαιμονίων* ; whereas their translation unquestionably conveys to an English reader the idea that it agrees with *τινὲς*, the persons who *depart*: even on this ground, some correction is absolutely necessary. And few, I think, will doubt, after a full consideration of the passage, that nothing less will do than that which I have adopted, which clears up the whole construction by introducing a term to which the following genitives may be referred ; whereas otherwise they must have belonged somehow or other to *δαιμονίων*, the subject of the heresy, when the sense of the whole shews that they belong to the heretics themselves.—I have given the strong sense, *their own*, to *ἰδίαν*, as intimating that, their own conscience being seared, they have no compunction in destroying the souls of others

Almost all modern translators have seen the erroneous construction of the Common Version, and render in a different manner. ‘ Doctrines of demons, through the hypocrisy of liars,

‘whose own conscience is seared.’ Doddridge. ‘Doctrines concerning demons, through the hypocrisy of liars, who are seared in their own conscience.’ Macknight. ‘Doctrines about dead men, through the hypocrisy of liars with a seared conscience.’ Wakefield.

Heb. iv. 2. “For unto us was the gospel preached as well as unto them.” Καὶ γὰρ ἔσμεν εὐηγγελισμένοι, καθάπερ καὶ αὐτοὶ. This passage describes the gospel as being preached to the ancient Israelites, and the persons whom the writer of the Epistle associates with himself, as admitted to a participation of the same privilege. It seems here to be supposed, as Campbell remarks, that we all know that the gospel was preached to them, but need to be informed that it has ever been preached to ourselves. With the proper rendering of the verb, and the guidance of the context, no attentive reader can fail of perceiving the sense of the writer. “For unto us glad tidings have been published as well as unto them.”

‘8. *Jesus*. Ἰησοῦς. Joshua. Whether such a rendering as that proposed would be consistent with the duty of a faithful translator, may perhaps be questioned. But it is to be considered, that our translation after all is made for English readers, the great bulk of whom never enter into the bearings of the question about the different languages in which the different parts were written; and consequently are hopelessly perplexed about the assertion here made of Jesus. The Son of Nun is known to them only by the name of Joshua: it is really a hard lesson for them to learn and reduce to practical use, that Joshua is the same name with Jesus; the difference between Jehoram and Joram, and other similar instances, is nothing to it. As a practical question, therefore, in which the spiritual welfare of millions is more or less concerned, it may be worth while to consider whether the change would not be justifiable; especially as it would occasion no perplexity to those who understand the principles of the respective formations of the two words from different languages.’

That many readers are perplexed or misled by the reading of the Common Version, there can be no doubt. As perspicuity is the first of all qualities in a translation, we should not hesitate to substitute the proposed term, which is adopted by almost all modern translators. On the subject of proper names, much might, indeed, be said, by a fastidious critic; but it is of more importance, in such a book as the New Testament, to preserve common readers from mistaking its meaning in any case, than to contend for philological niceties, which can only be appreciated by scholars, to whom a translation is not an indispensable acquisition. We have heard it asked, Who is the Simeon mentioned Acts, xv. 14? and of whom no previous notice appears in the chapter. The reference is plainly to Peter, whose speech is reported in the preceding verses: but every one does not perceive

this. If the text had exhibited the name Simon, every one would see the reference, as no reader of the New Testament can be ignorant that Simon and Peter denote the same person. Why the Translators did not insert the name here, as they have done in other places, it may be difficult to discover. It may indeed be suggested, that they have in this instance followed the original, which is here not Σιμὼν but Συμεὼν; but in 2 Pet. i. 1, where the latter form appears, they render Simon. We should recommend a uniform mode of designation, and to follow the example of those translators who adopt the usage by which the persons are best known and most easily recognized;—Elijah rather than Elias, Elisha instead of Eliseus Hoshea, and not Osee.

Art. V. *Poor Laws for Ireland, a Measure of Justice to England; of Humanity to the People of both Islands; and of Self-preservation for the Empire.* With a practical Development of an improved System of Settlement, Assessment, and Relief. By R. Montgomery Martin, Author of "Ireland as it Was, Is, and Ought to Be," &c. 8vo. pp. 49. Price 2s. London, 1833.

IRELAND, without poor laws, has doubled her ragged, half-famished population in thirty-three years: England, with poor laws, has not doubled its population in less than a century. In Ireland, where there is no poor's rate to depress the rate of wages, or to eke out the labourer's pittance with parish relief, labour is worse paid than in any other country under a northern clime: in England, labour is better paid than in any other old and well peopled country. In Ireland, where there is no provision for the poor, to operate as a premium upon marriage and an indemnity for improvidence, the lower classes marry before they are twenty years of age; and their reckless indifference to the future, aggravated by their extreme poverty, is fast converting them into a nation of lazzaroni and brigands. In England, under the poor law system, as it existed for more than two hundred years, the labouring classes acquired and maintained a character for forethought, decency, and economy, which raised them above the corresponding classes in any other nation. And still, notwithstanding the abuses that have vitiated the whole operation of that system, to compare the English with the Irish poor, would be to offer an insult to the former, as it would be a cruel mockery of the latter.

And yet, we are sometimes told, that the redundancy of population, the depression of wages, the spread of immorality in this country, are all owing to the poor laws! And Ireland, poor Ireland, were this horrible provision for the poor to be introduced there, would soon be in as bad a condition as England itself!

But the truth is, that the absence of a poor law in Ireland, is one very principal cause of the increase of pauperism in England;

and one of two results seems to be inevitable, if a remedy is not applied : either the Irish population must be raised towards the standard of the average condition of the English, or the wheat-fed English labourers will be depressed to a level with the potato-fed population of Ireland. The periodical immigration of myriads of pauper labourers from the sister island, is admitted to have had the effect of lowering the wages of labour in England, and consequently of lowering the character, as well as condition of the labouring classes, by depriving them of any benefit arising from their superior prudence. The evidence brought before the Select Committee of the House of Commons in July, 1828, proves the number of persons coming from Ireland to this country in search of employment, to have annually increased immensely during the preceding nine years ; and to have been even systematically encouraged by the Irish landlords ; and the Committee express their decided conviction, that, if the present system is to continue unchecked, the effects of its operation will inevitably be, ‘ to throw upon England, and that at no distant period, the expense of maintaining the paupers of both countries.’

Mr. Montgomery Martin deserves the thanks of his country for this well timed and well reasoned appeal on behalf of ‘ the few and scanty rights of the poor.’ He has condensed into a few pages the results of various and extended investigation ; proving beyond all reasonable question, that justice and mercy, policy and humanity, alike imperatively demand the prompt extension of the law of relief to the paupers of Ireland ; otherwise England herself may have reason to join in the cry of the Arch-Agitator for a repeal of the Union. We are tempted to transcribe the following citation from a speech of the O’Connell.

“ Who in Scotland lowered the condition of her people by working almost for nothing ? The wretch flying from Ireland !—Who filled the factories all over England, and reduced the already too low rate of wages ? The outcast of Ireland !—Who made the English poor rates so burdensome ? The Irish !—Who brought such misery and ruin on the agricultural labourer ? The forlorn Irishman coming from the wilds of Connaught, and slaving for that which an English labourer would turn from with disgust !—What gentleman would suggest a plan for this *growing* curse ? There is no remedy but a Repeal of the Union, or, as some think, the enactment of Poor Laws for Ireland.” p. 11.

As some think ! Yes, and Mr. O’Connell *knows*, that this would be, not indeed in itself a sovereign or sufficient remedy for the complicated disorders of his faction-torn, church-ridden country, but a far more salutary and beneficent measure, one that would conduce more to its present tranquillity and the eventual melioration of its condition, than any other legislative measure that could be adopted.

The equitable right of the poor to a legislative provision for their protection and relief, has been called in question by one-sided theorists and cold-blooded utilitarians, who consider that starvation is a just punishment of those individuals who obtrude themselves into existence without being called for by the capitalist. Mr. Martin has shewn, in a few words, that this right is created by the very nature of civil society, being but an equivalent for the restrictions under which the poor man is laid by the laws created for the protection of the property of the rich. 'By what right,' asks the Bishop of Cloyne, (Woodward), 'did the rich take upon them to enact certain laws which compel the poor man to become a member of their society,—which preclude him from any share of the land where he was born, any use of its spontaneous fruits, or any dominion over the beasts of the field, on pain of stripes, imprisonment, or death;—how can they justify their exclusive property in the common heritage of mankind, unless they consent in return to provide for the subsistence of the poor, who are excluded from those common rights, by laws of the rich to which the poor were never parties?'—Language like this becomes a Christian bishop. To shew that he is not singular in the opinion, that nothing but such a provision for the poor will improve the condition of Ireland, Mr. Martin cites the forcible declaration of the Roman Catholic prelate, Dr. Doyle, before the Select Committee on the state of the Irish Poor in 1830.

'When asked whether there was any other measure necessary for the purpose of facilitating and encouraging the application of capital in Ireland, this exemplary pastor says: "I think that measure (Poor Laws) alone in its operation would produce that result in as great a degree as would be consistent with the preservation of the moral progress of society in Ireland, *independently of all other measures*. I have heard of an act of parliament for the purpose of encouraging the draining of bogs, sinking the beds of rivers, fixing the limits of estates, and enabling people under settlements to make leases of lands. I know that these measures would be subsidiary to, and greatly assist, the other; but the other I consider the main measure, so much so, that without it *every other act of the legislature* that may be passed for the improvement of Ireland will, in my opinion, *fail* to produce the effects that are hoped from them."

'But methinks I hear it said, "Laws should not be made *exclusively* either for the benefit of the poor or for the benefit of the rich." Granted:—can it however be said, that a law which provides for the comfort of the sick, maimed, and aged, and affords hard labour and bare subsistence to the unemployed, and at the same time secures the peace of the country, the stability of the government, and the security of the wealthy—can such a law be said to be enacted merely for the benefit of the poor? Certainly not. Ireland possesses in a pre-eminent degree the main ingredients of wealth and social happiness, namely, an exuberantly fertile soil, and a superabundance of active and intelligent

labourers, which only requires for its extensive development the application of capital. Dr. Doyle (and no man knows the condition of Ireland better) says: "I have no doubt that a compulsory rate would have the effect of *increasing the capital* to be usefully employed in Ireland. I have no doubt whatever that a legal assessment, which would take a certain quantity of money from those who now spend it in luxuries or in distant countries, and which would employ that money in the application of labour to land in Ireland, would be productive of the utmost benefit to the country at large; and I think that benefit, so far from being confined to the poor themselves, or to the class of labourers immediately above the destitute, would ultimately, and at no distant day, *redound to the advantage of those proprietors out of whose present income I would suppose the chief portion of that income to be taken*. The reason of my opinion is, that when the proprietors of the soil of Ireland would be assessed for the relief of the poor, they would be impelled, by a consideration of self-interest, to watch over the levies to be made of their property, and over the application of those levies; and that the necessity of doing so would induce many of them now absent, and more particularly those of moderate income, to reside in Ireland. Then with regard to the money thus levied, and with which the committee would be enabled to give employment to able bodies in times of want and distress, if that money were employed, whether in public works or by the owners of land in useful improvements, I have no doubt but lands which are now enclosed would rise very much in value, the quality of the tillage be considerably improved, and that of agricultural produce greatly altered for the better; so that, in fact, every thing which constitutes property in Ireland would gradually become better and more valuable than it now is, or than it ever will be under the present system." Here we see in a few words the vast advantages which would accrue to the *rich* as well as to the poor, from the establishment of a legislative provision for the latter. There are 17,190,726 acres of land in Ireland, which, yielding on an average so low as £5 worth of produce per acre, would yield an annual income of landed produce to the amount of *one hundred million sterling*, whereas the total value of landed produce in Ireland at present is but £45,000,000.

'To ascribe, therefore, the periodical or general distress in Ireland merely to a redundant population, is a monstrous fallacy. Every one cries out for the employment of *capital* in Ireland, in order to relieve the poor, or for a tax upon absentees. Dr. Doyle shows clearly, that both these measures will be accomplished by the interposition of the Legislature in attending to the interests of the poor. This politic, and at the same time comprehensively benevolent man, says: "Capital is not employed in Ireland, because there are many causes which deter men from embarking capital in a country, which could be employed with more safety, if not with more profit, in another. The chief obstacle to the employment of capital in the improvement of lands, or the establishment of manufactures in Ireland, is the *unsettled state of the population* in that country, the *nightly outrages* which result from that state, as well as the want of character in the common people themselves. All those things tend very much to prevent the investment of

capital in land in Ireland, by men who, if society were better arranged, would not hesitate so to vest it. I think, therefore, it would be the duty of the Legislature to open wider the prospect of usefully employing capital in Ireland; to give greater facilities and encouragements to the investments of capital; to hold out inducements to men to settle in that country, by preparing for them a quiet and well-ordered population.

“But these preparations cannot be made by the natural force of things, but to produce them it is necessary that the Legislature should interpose. Again, there are a great many persons, some of whom I know personally, and many by character, who are at present absent from Ireland; men of limited fortunes, who are invited by the luxuries and ease and the improved state of society in foreign countries to be absent. If those persons were threatened with an assessment upon their property, such threat would urge them upon one side, whilst a better system of society existing at home would invite them upon the other; and those two causes thus operating, would, no doubt, produce the effect of leading those men both to dwell at home, and to invest capital in that country which they now desert.”

‘There is another benefit, no less important, to be derived from the introduction of poor laws in Ireland, which the politician and the Christian are equally interested in obtaining for my unfortunate country, and that is, the associating together of Protestants and Catholics in the holy offices of charity, and in fulfilling the commands of our Blessed Redeemer by administering to the necessities of our fellow-creatures, no matter the form of religion which they have been taught. The instance detailed at questions 4500 and 4501 of the evidence shews the value of such spiritual communion.’

‘There is one more view of the question as to the necessity of immediately introducing poor laws, which, however desirous I may be to compress these pages, I cannot avoid adverting to; it is the rapid, the frightful, the appalling—physical as well as moral—degeneration of the poor of Ireland. Dr. Doyle stated to the Committee (and thousands can corroborate his assertion), that “at a period within his recollection the labouring men in Ireland were much more manly—much more strong—much more animated, and altogether a better race of people than they now are. I recollect, when a boy, to see them assemble at public sports in thousands, and to witness on such occasions, exhibitions of strength and activity which I have not witnessed for some years past, for at present they have not either the power or the disposition to practise those athletic sports and games which were frequent in our country when I was a youth. Moreover, I now see persons who get married between twenty and thirty years of age; they become poor, weakly, and emaciated in their appearance; and very often, if you question a man and ask him what age he is, you will find he has not passed fifty. We have, in short, a disorganized population, becoming by their poverty more and more immoral, and less and less capable of providing for themselves; and we have, besides that, the frightful, and awful, and terrific exhibition of human life wasted with a rapidity, and to a degree, such as is not witnessed in any civilized country upon the face of the earth.’

“ 4529. If human life be wasting with that rapidity, how do you account for the circumstance of the population being augmenting with a greater rapidity than that of Great Britain?—I do not think that the wasting of population in the manner described is a very considerable check to the multiplication of the species; because, when a child is taken away, or an old or a young man dies, there is room, as it were, made for another; and as we find that in countries sending their children to found colonies, that such drain for the purpose of colonization, if there be no other check, instead of diminishing augments the population of the mother-country, so in like manner that waste of human life, in the manner that it takes place in Ireland, does not retard the multiplication of the people. However, the children begotten by the poor in that state of society to which the question refers, become of an inferior caste; the whole character of the people becomes gradually worse and worse; they *diminish in stature*; they are *enervated in mind*; *the whole energy and character of the population is gradually deteriorated*; till at length you have the inhabitants of one of the finest countries in the world reduced to a state of effeminacy which makes them little better than the Lazzaroni of Naples, or the Hindoos on the coast of Malabar.” !!!*’

Mr. Martin admits, (and the admission is an important one in all its bearings,) that, since the Union, a progressive improvement has taken place in Ireland, as regards the landed gentry, the farmers, the merchants, and the traders and shopkeepers. In fact, the wealth of the church and of the landed proprietors has been prodigiously increased by the extension of tillage; but the mass of the peasantry have meanwhile been only sinking the lower into abject and helpless poverty. From this, Mr. Martin remarks, no suppression bill, no coercive measures, no cutting down of the over-grown church, no amendment of the grand jury laws, no modification of the law of tenant and landlord, no absentee tax, no repeal of the Union will relieve them;—although, with the exception of the last, and of the temporary measures for repressing brigandage and predial agitation, each of these measures would be of important benefit. But that which alone will draw together the bonds of civil society in Ireland, and make the property of the absentee effectually tributary to the general prosperity of the country he has deserted, is a legislative provision for the relief and employment of the labouring classes.

After disposing of the objections against such a measure, Mr. Martin, in his fourth chapter, briefly explains the modifications in the system of settlement, assessment, and relief, which he deems desirable, in application to Ireland. He proposes, in the first place, to make birth the sole ground of settlement; and, to carry the law into effect, suggests that a general registration should take place throughout the island. Secondly, the rate or

* Evidence before the Select Committee, 4th June 1830.

assessment should be levied, not, as in England, upon industry, but upon real property, and be kept distinct from county, highway, or church rates. Thirdly, to guard against abuses in the administration of relief, *no money should be paid to the pauper.*

‘Ireland contains 5,000,000 acres of reclaimable bog land, is in want of roads and canals, &c., and by having large houses of industry built in every city, corporate town, or barony, abundance of labour can be provided for those who must merely receive in return bare subsistence. The plan of the house of industry at Liverpool, which is capable of containing 1,500 paupers, is well worthy of adoption; taking care to have a large piece of land with each establishment, and dividing the house into an asylum for the aged and maimed, and a temporary shelter for the houseless and destitute.

‘In cases where a large family are thrown out to die in the ditch, or to beg their way through the land, if the parents can find daily work, but are unable to support their children, let the children be taken in to the school house; if the husband be unable to support the wife, or the wife unable to support herself, let her be taken into the workhouse; and if the father be still unable to get employment, let him also be provided with *work* and food, but on no account let there be an addition to wages while the pauper can get employment; he must either enter the house of industry *in toto* or not at all. The efficacy of this plan has been tried in various parts of England, and abundant testimony can readily be had as to its good effects.’

pp. 47, 48.

These suggestions are highly deserving of attention, not merely in reference to Ireland, but as respects the administration of the English poor laws.

Mr. Martin has, with commendable discretion, forbore to touch upon the delicate point, how far a portion of the church property may be made available as a fund for the employment and relief of the poor. This was, unquestionably, one of the purposes to which the tithe was originally consecrated; and the Church and the Poor were for many centuries co-partners in the proceeds. The existence of an Ecclesiastical Establishment, without either a civil or an ecclesiastical provision for the poor, is not merely an anomaly, such as no civilized or semi-civilized country exhibits; but carries, on the face of it, the proof of a breach of trust,—involving an unjust and anti-Christian robbery of those who were the wards of the Church, and whose rights were reserved in the original grant upon which her own tenure is founded. It is no excuse to allege, that the aristocracy has plundered the Church, which has plundered the poor; that the spoiler has been herself spoiled. Wherever an Ecclesiastical Establishment exists, the Church will be found either the antagonist and counterbalance of the aristocracy, or its creature and tributary. A church established means, in effect, a clergy in bondage. The robbery committed on the Irish poor may, per-

haps, fairly lie at the door of the aristocracy, though done under cover of the Establishment ; but the fact of the robbery, wherever the guilt may lie, is palpable ; and wherever the property is found, it ought to be made to yield up something by way of restitution, in spite of the interested and hypocritical cry of Spoliation.

Art. VI. *A Concise View of the Succession of Sacred Literature*, in a Chronological Arrangement of Authors and their Works, from the Invention of Alphabetical Characters, to the Year of our Lord 1300. Vol. II. By J. B. B. Clarke, M.A. 8vo. pp. 770. London, 1832.

THE original design of the Authors of this work was, to continue the Succession of Ecclesiastical and Theological writers to the period when printing was invented, about the middle of the fifteenth century. In the Volume before us, the work is concluded, and terminates with the year 1299. For this deviation, the present Author assigns reasons which his readers will scarcely fail to regard as valid ones, when they shall have accompanied him in his progress through the catalogue of Writers who lived in the thirteenth and the preceding century, in which but few names worthy of being noticed are to be found. William of Sandwich, Radulfus Bockingus, and Elias of Trickyngham, *cum multis aliis*, were writers from whom neither instruction nor pleasure could be obtained ; and Mr. Clarke may well be excused from the unprofitable labour of transcribing their names, and marshalling their valueless productions. We should not, indeed, have found fault with him, if he had continued the succession, through the later periods, by a selection of principal writers, without drawing from the obscurity in which they have so long reposed, so many neglected and forgotten Authors. The principal writers of whom and their works an account is given in the present volume, are Augustine, Chrysostom, Cyril of Alexandria, and Theodoret. To these fathers, one hundred and forty pages are appropriated ; and over the remaining pages, amounting to six hundred and thirty, are spread the names of about thirteen hundred authors. From such a catalogue, but little of instruction or of interest can be expected by a general reader, whose obligations to the Author will therefore arise from the value of the information conveyed in respect to the more celebrated writers. Many have heard and read of Augustine and Chrysostom, who are scarcely acquainted with the subjects of their works, and to whom the sketches and analyses contained in these pages will supply a sufficiency of instruction, to enable them to understand the nature of those productions to which they are indebted for their celebrity. Mr. Clarke's work is rendered less inviting by the catalogue form in

which so much of this part of it appears; but, as a useful guide to the student, it could not be superseded by any other extant book in English Literature.

We much doubt, however, whether this or any other work will excite to the study of the Fathers, in such manner as to revive any thing like a general attention to them, even among divines themselves. For the neglect into which they are fallen, many reasons may be assigned. They are no longer the only, or the principal sources from which the materials of theological learning can be drawn; and other and better guides to direct the studies of the inquisitive, are now every where at hand. The disuse of the Fathers was a natural consequence of the freedom acquired at the Reformation from the despotism of the Romish Church, the usurpations of which were, in many instances, and to a great extent, associated with the authority of their names. To that proud elevation, they can no more be raised. Questions of the last importance to mankind, will never again be settled by a quotation from Jerome, or an appeal to Cyprian. Every error, every delusion, every corruption of Christian doctrine, may be traced to the Fathers. And it was on account of the corruptions and the deceptions which they originated and extended, that their authority was maintained. Their real excellences were never of primary consideration in the times when they were most venerated. By their depression, much has been gained to the cause of truth and liberty. An acquaintance with them, however, may now be of great advantage to those who possess the leisure and the means of using them. Among them, unquestionably, are to be found some of the noblest monuments of zeal and knowledge, eloquence and holiness; and of such of them as may be most profitably employed as affording excitements to devotion and religious duties, so pure and elevated, the notices before us are of much value.

It is well observed by Mr. Clarke, that the Greek writers are on every account to be generally preferred, being more free from doctrinal errors, and less pledged to the support of ecclesiastical dominion, than the Latin. A Dissertation on the Use of the Fathers, was designed as an Introduction to the Work before us; but the size of the book has induced the Author to reserve it. Several works of this kind have already appeared. That of Daille is well known, though now but little read. But, as Mr. Clarke would necessarily adapt his Dissertation to the present state of theological literature, and to readers in these times, its publication might be a real service to the cause of sound learning. The use of the Fathers to which Mr. Clarke would excite, would certainly be a cautious one. 'It is well,' he remarks, 'that we are emancipated on points of doctrine from the authority of even the *pure* Fathers.' p. 68. And, again, p. 81, 'Those Protestants who still stickle for the authority of the Fathers upon points of doc-

'trine, can scarcely know the snares among which they are 'walking.'

From the account of Chrysostom, pp. 50—104, we shall extract the sketch of his character.

'There is no ecclesiastical writer from whom so much *general* information can be obtained as from Chrysostom: the *manners* and *customs* of the day are frequently introduced into his orations; the *superstitions* and elegant *follies* of the times are made subjects of his reprobation; he enters into *domestic society*, and shews us how it was formed and regulated; the *sports* of the low, and the *amusements* of the high, are made fruitful themes for instruction; *contemporaneous history* frequently receives light, and there are few events of even a trifling nature, from which he does not shew instruction can be derived. His *morality* is not of that ascetic cast which renders the manners rough, and the religion revolting, of too many of the holy men of those times; so long as there was a pure heart and an upright life, Chrysostom did not teach that the soul would perish because sackcloth was not worn, that it could not grow in grace because the body was not emaciated, and that it could not hold communion with its God, unless amid the bleak air of a mountain-top, or the burning desolation of an arid desert: self-denial he considers as an exalted virtue, but total abstemiousness from the use of allowed pleasures, he did not regard as absolutely necessary. He is a strenuous supporter of strict *ecclesiastical discipline*, and though a high favorer of *monkish establishments*, he does not represent them as entirely essential to the prosperity of Christianity: most things referring to *discipline*, or *doctrine*, or occurrences in the Church, are in some place noticed, from the decrees of councils and words of an established Liturgy, to the oft-repeated interruptions occasioned by the noisy plaudits of a delighted audience.

'As a *Commentator*, Chrysostom is peculiarly valuable; he has no allegorical flights nor petty conceits, but he confines himself to literal interpretation and practical advice; important passages are proved to have a *full* signification, by strong reasoning enforced by powerful eloquence, and portions of apparently less moment are made advisers of high and holy things; a word will sometimes be shewn to add unspeakable force, and a common event will evidently contain matter for astonishing and deep consideration.

'The *style* of this Father is exactly characteristic of his manner of thinking,—clear, and full, and ornate: the diction never shocks the ear by rugged progress, nor by abrupt nor harsh conclusions of sentences: it is flowingly majestic and singularly suited to the majesty of his thoughts; the sentences do not fatigue the ear by length, nor puzzle the mind by involution, and great vividness and interest is (are) given to the subject in discussion, by frequent and unexpected interrogatories, which some of his clumsy imitators affecting, they have discovered themselves by their overloaded disguise: the chief imperfection may perhaps be a sameness of language upon all subjects,—the torrent still sweeps along, whether a mountain or a mole-hill have opposed its course. The fertility of his imagination is one of the commanding excellences of Chrysostom's writings; he abounds in imagery, and none

of it is too powerful for the control of the summoning Enchanter, nor does it overstep the circle which should keep it from breaking in upon the knowledge that is to guide it. His pathos is too much expanded to be effective, nor is there the forcible simplicity of unstudied language which Nature acknowledges as her own by involuntary approbation and heart-felt pleasure; the Orator is apt to appear where art should be entirely shrouded: hence the secret source of tears seems to have been hidden from Chrysostom, nor is he frequently successful in exciting the gentle, or pleasing, or mournful emotions of the soul; his march is that of a victorious monarch, splendid in retinue and gorgeous in attire, but amid the whole of the pomp are to be discovered the instruments of power and conquest,—under the gold and purple of the robe are seen the panoply of polished proof,—and his dominion is the result of force and not of persuasion.' pp. 99—102.

Of the merits of a Divine whose worth will not be known till an answer be given to the question, 'Whether a Platonic idea, 'hovering to the right on the orifice of Chaos, might drive away 'the squadrons of democratical atoms?' our readers must, we apprehend, remain ignorant; but such a question may serve to shew them the miserable obscurities and the mystic jargon which have been mixed up with Christian theology, and may satisfy them in respect to the character of Synesius as a Platonic divine. Of the turbulent Cyril of Alexandria, to whom the Romish Church is so much indebted for asserting the appropriation of the title, 'Mother of God,' to the Virgin Mary, a very just account is given by Mr. Clarke (pp. 135—146); and few of those who read it, will be anxious to study the works of a writer 'who shrouds 'with blackness what was before obscure, and inextricably entangles what was perplexed.' In the account of Theodoret, 'one of the most eminent of even the most valuable Fathers,' (pp. 154—185,) we find some remarks which every reader of the Fathers and early ecclesiastical historians should understand, and the spirit of which will induce him to reverse many of the judgments pronounced by them. We agree with Mr. Clarke, that 'it would not be difficult to prove, that some of those termed 'heresiarchs were maintainers of pure doctrine, and restorers of 'the ancient faith.'

We shall extract the two following articles.

'BOETIUS, A.D. 510.

'Sprung from one of the most illustrious families of Rome, An. Man. Torq. Severin, Boetius was educated according to his rank: for eighteen years he studied at Athens, the university of the Roman world. A. D. 487, he was created consul; he was afterwards raised by Theodoric to be Magister Palatii; in 510 he again bore the consular office; and in 522 he was constituted consul for the third time. Shortly after this, he fell into suspicion with Theodoric, and there were not wanting accusers to hasten the downfall of a favorite: Gaudentius, Opilio, and Basilus charged him with endeavouring to restore Rome

to its original republican government ; the accusation was believed, or at any rate acted on, and Boetius was sent by the king to expiate his virtues in a prison at Pavia, where, after some time had elapsed, he was beheaded by the king's order. Boetius was author of several works on Theology, Philosophy, Science, Logic, with some controversial Works : those only will be here noticed that have reference to the object of this work.

' *Against Eutyches and Nestorius*.—A Treatise on the two Natures of Christ contained in one Person ; it is addressed to John, a deacon of Rome. He enters into deep and subtle distinctions, and calls in the Aristotelian philosophy to help him in his theological distinctions and difficulties.

' *On the Trinity*,—addressed to Symmachus the Consul. A subject too high for human comprehension is here treated in such a way as to render it even more obscure : metaphysical subtleties and nice distinctions perplex a point which ultimately we must credit, not because we can prove it by reasoning, but because it is clearly revealed in the word of Him who cannot lie.

' *On the Trinity*,—addressed to John the Deacon of Rome, upon this Question, " Whether each Person of the Trinity may be affirmed to be substantially the Divinity."

' *The Consolation of Philosophy*.—A Treatise written while Boetius was in prison, to console himself under his reverse of fortune : it is written in the form of a Dialogue between him and Philosophy, consisting of prose and different kinds of verse intermingled ; there are *five* books. The *first* book contains the complaint and lamentation of Boetius, comparing his former with his present state :—the *second* represents the assuasions Philosophy affords to a dejected mind, and how wrong it is to blame fortune for the events of life :—the *third* enters deeper into the cure of a wounded spirit, and, to the overthrow of false happiness, shews that which is true :—the *fourth* proves that the wicked are always wretched, and the good happy ; speaks of Fate and the superintendence of Divine Providence, arguing that nothing happens casually, and that the pains of the righteous and the joys of the unholy are not really such to either :—the *fifth* speaks of Chance, Free-will, and the agreement of God's Omniscience with the Free-agency of man.—It is upon this treatise that Boetius's fame most especially rests : here are none of those perplexing distinctions and scholastic niceties which bewilder the reader by argument, and make him blind with excess of light. Boetius led the way to the introduction of the Aristotelian method of reasoning in controversial Divinity, and few even of his own scholars, the schoolmen, have exceeded or excelled him in the use of it : but in this work there is nothing of the sort ; the style of the prose is perspicuous and good, and that of the poetry is abundant in beauty : it is a work which has stood firmly balanced upon its own excellence till the present time, and will sink in estimation only when taste is extinct, and the perception of philosophic beauty is destroyed.

' *BOETHII Opera*, Venet, 1491.

————— Basil, 1546.

————— Cum Com. Var., Basil, 1570.

‘*BOECIUS, Consol. of Philosoph.*, translated by *Geoff. Chaucer*, and printed by Caxton.

‘*The Boke of Comfort*,—called in Laten, *Boetius de Consol. Philosoph.*; translated into Englesse Tonge: in Verse by John Waltonem: Enprented in the exempt Monastery of Tavestock, in Den-shyre; by me, *Dan Thomas Rychard*, Monke of the said Monastery, 4to. 1525. “Perhaps the *scarcest* work in the English language.”

————— by *Richard*, Lord Viscount *Preston*, 8vo. Lond. 1695, Sec. Edit. 8vo. Lond. 1712.

————— by the Rev. *Phil. Ridpath*, with Notes and Illustr. 8vo. Lond. 1785.’

The Consolation of Philosophy is an Eclectic Treatise, in which the doctrines of the Academics and the Stoics are incorporated; and, in strict accordance with its title, the topics are without reference to the truths of Christianity. Boetius is the last of the writers to whom the appellation of ancient is given. The following article should have had a place in the enumeration of editions. *BOETHII Consolationis Philosophiæ Lib. V. ANGLO-SAXONICE redditæ ab Alfredo Anglo-Saxonum Rege, edidit Rawlinson*, 8vo. Oxon. 1698.

‘*ALDHELMUS, A.D. 680.*

‘After visiting Italy, where he cultivated his taste for literature, Aldhelmus returned to England, and was made Abbot of Malmesbury, and afterwards Bishop of Salisbury: he died A.D. 702, with a high character among his contemporaries for theological and human learning. Of his writings there are extant, a book—

‘*In Praise of Virginity*,—in prose, consisting of *thirty* chapters: the state of Virginity is praised in general, and very many examples given of celebrated men and women who lived in a state of celibacy; their praises are recorded, and some particulars of their lives mentioned.—The style of this work is affectedly ornamented, and, from the use of barbarous terms and words in forced meanings, it is at once known as the production of an age when the old models were indeed known, but the taste was so vitiated as either to neglect or to strive to excel them! From the 29th chapter we find that this prose work preceded the following one in verse, for he there says, that he shall, if life be spared, treat upon the same subject in poetry; which intention afterwards produced the following.—*Biblioth. Patr.* vol. iii. p. 275.

‘*The Praise of Virgins*.—There is a singular poetical Preface, addressed to the Abbess Maxima, in hexameter verse; the initial and terminal letters of the lines of the Preface are each an acrostic of the first line, and the last line is the first repeated backward, so that the four sides of the Poem, as they are read backward or forward, or up or down, still present the commencing line of the Preface, which is,

‘*Metrica tirones nunc promant carmina castos.*

‘The *two* following lines are instances of the same words being presented, whether read forward or backward,

*Roma tibi subito motibus ibit amor.
Sole medere pede, ede, perede melos.*

And the following three-fold Acrostic on the word Jesus is an instance of a similar facility of conceit,

I-nter cuncta micans I-gniti sidera cœl-I,
E-xpellit tenebras E-toto Phœbus ut orb-E:
S-ic cæcas removit Ie-S us caliginis umbra-S,
V-ivicansque simul V-ero præcordia mot-U
S-olem justitiæ se-S-e probat esse beati-S.

J-oy beaming Phœbus, mid the orbs on high,
E-xpels the shades of night, and gilds the sky;
S-o Jesus bids our mental gloom retire,
U-nites and clothes us with his heavenly fire,
S-hining the Sun of Truth to all the blessed choir.

H. S. BOYD.

'The Poem in praise of Virgins is the same as the prose work; it partakes of the same defects, with the addition of metrical errors:

'*On the Eight principal Vices.*—Of the evils that they are authors of, he gives instances, and in *four* hexameters represents the calamities they produce.—These two works are given by *Canisius*, *Lect. Antiq.* vol. i. p. 713.

'*Problems*,—in verse, amounting to about 1000 lines.'

Aldhelmus was bishop of Sherborne, in Dorsetshire, not of Salisbury, which was not erected into a see till many ages after his death.

Art. VII.—1. *The Canadas as they now are.* Comprehending a View of their Climate, Rivers, Lakes, Canals, Government, Laws, Taxes, Towns, Trade, &c.; with a Description of the Soil and Advantages or Disadvantages of every Township in each Province: derived from the Reports of the Inspectors made to the Justices at Quarter Sessions, and from other authentic Sources, assisted by local knowledge. With a Map, shewing the Position of each Township. By a late Resident. 12mo. pp. xv. 116. Price 4s. 6d. London, 1833.

2. *Statistical Sketches of Upper Canada, for the Use of Emigrants.* By a Backwoodsman. 12mo. pp. 120. Price 1s. 6d. London, 1832.

3. *Practical Notes made during a Tour in Canada, and a Portion of the United States, in MDCCCXXXI.* By Adam Fergusson, of Woodhill, Advocate. Dedicated, by Permission, to the Highland Society of Scotland. 12mo. pp. xvi. 380. Edinburgh, 1833.

4. *Manual for Emigrants.* By Calvin Colton, A.M., of America. 18mo. pp. 203. Price 2s. 6d. London, 1832.

A NEW Scotland is fast growing up at the back of New England and New York. The gulf-stream of emigration, run-

ning strong from the Frith of Clyde towards the shores of Lake Huron and Lake Erie, is bearing on its current the 'failing farmers and webless weavers' of the old country, to turn forests into corn-fields, and plant towns in the wilderness, and spread the English language and the British race, in the heart of the Red man's country, far, far away. And yet, thanks to that wonderful and wonder-working thing which our grandfathers and grandmothers, like their ancestors, were in the habit of seeing escape from their tea-kettles without dreaming that it could be of any earthly use,—thanks to the triumphs of steam, the great magician, of whom, when we were young, we read in the Arabian Nights, how he was shut up in a little casket, from which when he escaped, he towered up to the heavens, little imagining that the legend prefigured or predicted a discovery which converts it into fact,—thanks to steam, Canada is not so very far off and out of the world as we have been accustomed to consider it. Half the distance between the two continents has been annihilated. For so admirably provided by nature is North America with the means of internal navigation, so marvellously intersected with water-ways which seem made on purpose for steamers, that a backwoodsman may step on board off his own estate at Goderich on the banks of Lake Huron, 1500 miles from the ocean, and, without setting his foot on land, run across the great water to take a peep at old friends at Greenock. And the very idea that he can accomplish this, tends to reconcile him to the distant separation.

'If any man', says the lively Writer of the Statistical Sketches, 'will only take the trouble to cast his eye over a map of the province, he will perceive that no country under heaven was ever so completely adapted for internal navigation. He will then see the line of the St. Lawrence and the lakes; the line from the bay of Quinté to Lake Simcoe, and that from the foot of Lake Ontario to the Ottawa, by the Cataraqui and Rideau Canal; from the Lake of the Thousand Islands to the Ottawa by the Petite Nation; from Lake Huron to the Ottawa by the double line of Lake Simcoe and Lake Nipissing; and the numerous tributaries of all these, which very little expense would render navigable;—so that were Mr. Brindley to rise from the dead, he would boldly pronounce that Nature intended all these as feeders to canals, to intersect the country in every possible direction.'

Stat. Sketches, p. 58.

Speaking of the Canada Company's Huron tract, which appears to be at present the favourite part of the province, and is even attracting some of the steady Dutch settlers from their old farms in other quarters,—Mr. Dunlop says:

'It has been objected by some, that this tract of country is *out of the world*. But no place can be considered in this light, to which a steam-boat can come; and on this continent, if you find a tract of good land, and open it for sale, the world will very soon come to you. Sixteen

years ago, the town of Rochester consisted of a tavern and a blacksmith's shop: it is now a town containing upwards of 16,000 inhabitants. The first time the Huron tract was ever trod by the foot of a white man, was in the summer of 1827; next summer a road was commenced; and that winter and in the ensuing spring of 1829, a few individuals made a lodgement. Now it contains upwards of 600 inhabitants, with taverns, shops, stores, grist and saw-mills, and every kind of convenience that a new settler can require. And if the tide of emigration continues to set in as strongly as it has done, in ten years from this date, it may be as thickly settled as any part of America; for Goderich has water-powers quite equal to Rochester; and the surrounding country possesses much superior soil.' Stat. Sketches, pp. 25, 26.

Who should go to Canada?—Not the man who can afford to live in Great Britain, however he may fret against taxes and poor's rates, and quarrel with a Whig government. A man sometimes quarrels with those he loves, and when they are away, is miserable at having only himself to quarrel with. No man of fortune, our Backwoodsman honestly says, ought to go to Canada. 'It is emphatically *the poor man's country*, but it would be difficult to make it the country of the rich.'

'It is a good country for a poor man to acquire a living in, or for a man of small fortune to economise and provide for his family; but I can conceive no possibility of its becoming for centuries to come a fitting stage for the heroes or heroines of the fashionable novels of Mr. Bulwer or young D'Israeli.' *Ib.* p. 10.

Not persons addicted to the romantic. The most romantic thing in the new-cleared wilderness is the fire-fly; but who, except a fire-fly, can feel romantic in the midst of mosquitoes? To a person leaving the old country, it might be tendered as a wholesome piece of advice, to be sure to leave one thing behind him,—imagination. To all emigrants tinctured with romance, Mr. Colton addresses the following wholesome admonition, intended primarily for those who contemplate settling in the United States, but applicable as well to those who wish to prosper any where.

'And, first, he would earnestly advise all persons, who think of going to America, to eject thoroughly from their minds and hearts all *romantic* expectations. The motives which induce emigration to America, are various with different individuals; but in all, there are strong tendencies to the indulgence of extravagant hopes. Some, who have felt oppressed with the unequal conditions of European society, and who, perhaps, have been dissatisfied with the Government of their native country, go to the United States, under the impression, that what is called Republican liberty and equality will elevate them at once to rank and importance—or to a common level and fellowship with the best men in the community. And some, perhaps, imagine, that Republican liberty is—that every man may do as he pleases; in

other words, that it is licentiousness. It is due to all such persons, and to American society, that they should be informed—that law is as necessary in the United States, as in any other country, and that it is emphatically the guardian of right;—and that every citizen must be contented with that place in society, which his personal merits and qualifications naturally award to him. If a man is not willing to be an honest and sober member of community on these terms, and if he is not resolved to consecrate his energies to some useful and honourable pursuit, such as he is fit for, he can neither be welcomed in the United States, nor can he have any warrant, that his condition there will be comfortable to himself. All such characters may better conceal themselves in the dark retreats of a dense and crowded population of an European city. Let them by all means stay where their unlawful desires have been begotten. They will only throw themselves into the light of day, and the sooner meet with their deserved doom, by going to America.

‘Some expect, by going to America, to live without care and without labour,—that riches will come pouring into their lap and be forced upon them, without any pains of their own. But the primitive infliction for human apostacy:—“In the sweat of thy brow shalt thou eat thy bread”—is not so easily avoided. Until the garden of Eden, with all its innocence and virtue, can be recovered, exemption from this curse must not be expected. America is a good country—good enough to satisfy any reasonable expectations—but it is not a Paradise. American society has a good degree of simplicity and purity. But it wants no importation of worse materials. Patient industry is the source of all its prosperity, and virtue the crowning glory of the community. And he who is not willing to be sober and industrious, must not expect to rise,—he is doomed to *sink* in the United States.

‘Many are the worthy and respectable men’, says Mr. Fergusson, ‘who may certainly better their condition by a removal to Canada.’

‘At the same time, it is a serious step, not to be lightly adopted’ and which, above all, they should remember, cannot, with safety, consistency, or credit, be retraced. In Canada, the settler will become proprietor in *fee simple* of lands, at a rate per acre which would scarcely pay half of his *yearly rent* at home; but this is only to be effected at a sacrifice of early ties and connexions, and by a cheerful submission to many privations and *botherations*, which will require a steady and cheerful temper to surmount.’ *Fergusson*, p. 160.

Who then are to go to Canada? ‘In the first place’, says Mr. Dunlop, ‘all who cannot comfortably support themselves by their labour at home.

‘Because, let a man be ever so poor in this country, his wages as a labourer will more than support his family;—and if he be prudent and sober, he may in a short time save money enough to purchase for himself a farm;—and if he has a family, so much the better, as children are the best *stock* a farmer can possess, the labour of a child seven years’

old being considered worth his maintenance and education, and the wages of a boy of twelve or fourteen years of age being higher than those of a stout and skilful ploughman in most parts of Great Britain, generally from three to four dollars a month, with bed, board, and washing besides. At home they talk of "a poor man with a large family;" but such a phrase in Canada would be a contradiction of terms; for a man here who has a large family must, under ordinary circumstances, soon cease to be a poor man.

'Mechanics and artizans of almost all descriptions,—millwrights, blacksmiths, carpenters, masons, bricklayers, tailors, shoemakers, tanners, millers, and all the ordinary trades that are required in an agricultural and partially ship-owning and commercial country, will do well to come to Canada. Weavers have but little to expect in the way of their trade, though such of them as are employed in customer-work can make from ten to twelve shillings a day; but they soon make good farmers. A friend of mine asserts, that they make *better* farmers for this country than agricultural labourers; alleging as a cause, that as they have no prejudices to overcome, they get at once into the customs of the country as copied from their neighbours, and being in the habit of thinking, improve on them. But my friend is from Paisley, and, consequently, prejudiced in favour of weavers. However, there is no denying that the weavers from Renfrew and Lanark shires in the Bathurst district, are very good and very prosperous settlers, and that the linen weavers from the north of Ireland make the best choppers, native or imported, in the province, as they, to a man, can chop with either hand forward, and by changing their hand they relieve themselves and obtain a rest. This ambi-dexterousness is ascribed by their countrymen, how justly I know not, to their habit of using both hands equally in throwing the shuttle.

'Of these trades, the blacksmith, tailor, shoemaker, and tanner, are the best. If there were in nature (which is doubtful) such a being as a sober blacksmith, he might make a fortune.

'One exception there is, however, in the case of mechanics. First-rate London workmen will not receive such high wages, either positively or relatively, as they would at home,—for this reason, that there are few on this continent who either require or can afford work of the very first order, and those that do, send to London for it.

'Farmers and tradesmen of small capital will find in Canada a good investment. A farmer who commences with some money, say 250*l.*, ought, in the course of five or six years, to have all his capital in money, and a good well-cleared and well-stocked farm into the bargain, with the requisite dwelling-house and out-buildings on it, besides having supported his family in the meantime.

'Unless a man of large capital, by which term in this country I mean about 5000*l.*, has a large family, he had better lend the surplus on mortgage at six per cent., than invest it in business, except he means to become a wholesale storekeeper in one of the towns. If he attempts to set up a mill, a distillery, a tannery, a fulling and saw mill, and a store, as is often found to be profitable from the one trade playing into the hands of the other, and if he has not sons capable of looking after the different branches, he must entrust the care of them to

clerks and servants. But these are not to be had ready-made:—he must, therefore, take a set of unlicked cubs, and teach them their business; and when that is fairly done, it is ten to one but, having become acquainted with his business and his customers, they find means to set up an opposition, and take effectually the wind out of their former patron's sails. Where, however, a man has a large family of sons, he can wield a large capital in business, and to very good purpose too.' pp. 6-9.

Supposing a man to have made up his mind to emigrate to America, the question will arise, whether to go to Canada or the United States. Mr. Dunlop thinks Canada preferable, for the following reasons.

'It is to many who happen to have consciences, no light matter, to forswear their allegiance to their king, and declare that they are willing to take up arms against their native country at the call of the country of their adoption; and unless they do so, they must remain aliens for ever; nay, even if they do manage to swallow such an oath, it is seven years before their apostacy is rewarded by the right of citizenship. In landing in his Majesty's dominions, they carry with them their rights of subjects, and immediately on becoming 40*s.* freeholders, have the right of voting for a representative.

'The markets of Canada for farm produce are and must be better than those of the United States; for Canadian corn is admitted into both British and West Indian ports on much more advantageous terms than foreign grain, and the taxes on articles required for the consumpt of the inhabitants are not one-twelfth so great in Canada as in the United States. Thus, all British goods pay at Quebec only 2½ per cent. *ad valorem*, whilst at any American port they pay from 33½ to 60 per cent.

'Very erroneous notions are current in England, with regard to the taxation of the United States. The truth is, that though America is lightly taxed in comparison with England, it is by no means to be considered so when compared to most of the continental nations. The account usually rendered of American taxation is fallacious. It is stated, that something under six millions sterling, or about 10*s.* per head on an average, pays the whole army, navy, civil list, and interest of debt of the United States, while we require fifty millions, or nearly 2*l.* 10*s.* each, for the same purpose. But the fact is, that that sum is only about half what the Americans pay in reality; for each individual state has its own civil list, and all the machinery of a government to support; and insignificant as the expenses of that government appear in detail, yet the aggregate is of very serious importance. For instance, there are five times as many judges in the state of New York alone as in Great Britain and Ireland; and though each individual of these were to receive no more than we would pay a macer of the court, yet when there comes to be two or three hundred of them, it becomes a serious matter; nor does it make any difference, in fact, whether they are paid out of the exchequer of the state, or by the fees of the suitors in their courts; they are equally paid by a tax on the people in either case.

‘ Although the necessities of life are cheap in America, and equally cheap in Canada, the luxuries of life are higher by several hundred per cent. in the one country than the other. Thus, wine in the United States is so highly taxed, that in a tavern at New York you pay more for a bottle of Madeira than in one at London, viz. five dollars,—and fifteen shillings for port.

‘ In Canada, we have stumbled by accident, or had thrust upon us by some means or other, what may be considered the great desideratum in financial science, viz. the means of creating a large revenue with a light taxation. This arises from three causes: first, that we derive a very large sum annually from lands the property of the crown, which are sold to the Canada company, and from timber cut on crown lands, &c.; second, that we derive a revenue from public works, which have been constructed at the expense of the province, and which are in a fair way of yielding a much greater return than the interest of the money expended on them, and from shares in the bank of Upper Canada, of which the government took a fourth of the stock; and, thirdly, because we make our neighbours, the good people of the United States, pay a little of our taxes, and shall, with the blessing of God, if they keep on their tariff, make them pay a pretty penny more.’ pp. 113—115.

Mr. Dunlop's little Tract will be found highly amusing as well as full of information. His remarks upon the Lumber Trade, (a subject which we cannot here enter upon,) will, we hope, obtain due attention in influential quarters. We have been so much delighted with his strong sense and *bonhomie*, that we regret to be obliged to reprobate some of his remarks in the chapter ‘on religious sects,’ as alike injurious and uncalled for. Of Mr. Ryerson, whom he has dragged before the British public as a preacher of sedition, a hypocrite, and a knave, we personally know nothing; but, judging from the uncandid and ungentlemanly manner in which Peter Jones is spoken of, we should not be led to attach much credit or weight to the representation given of the former individual; and the spirit of the whole attack upon the Methodists, savours too much of either personal resentment or party hostility. The fact is, we believe, that Peter Jones came to this country charged with some political mission from the Indian tribe to which, through his mother, he belongs; and that he had communication with his Majesty's Government in this capacity. His personal respectability is, therefore, as unquestionable as his piety. To the British and Foreign Bible Society, he rendered important service, by assisting in the revision of a version of part of the Scriptures into the Algonquin or Chippewa language. During his stay in this country, he preached repeatedly, and attended many of the meetings of our religious societies, where, possibly, by the vulgar, he might be regarded as a mere raree-shew, like the Emperors, or Riho Riho, or any other lion of the day. But this was not the light in which he would be re-

garded by any intelligent man who has heard him speak or conversed with him. No man could be more free from pretence, and for deception there was no room. Mr. Dunlop has been imposed upon by misinformation of, we suspect, a malignant character.

'The Canadas as they are,' is a less amusing or readable book, but contains a very careful digest of that minute matter of fact information, topographical and statistical, of which an emigrant stands in more especial need; distinctly arranged, and apparently without any colouring. We transcribe the following cautionary hint from the Advertisement.

'Not that it is intended to deny to the *Canada Land Company* or their servants their due meed of praise;—and they are entitled to a considerable share;—but if a personal friend, with 200*l.* or 300*l.* or more, were to ask the Author, if he would advise him to settle at Guelph or Goderich, he would reply: Certainly not at the latter, nor at the former, unless you are too indolent to look for a more eligible spot, plenty of which are to be found with a little trouble and the exercise of discrimination.'

Mr. Fergusson's *Practical Notes* comprise the narrative of a Tour through part of the State of New York, and the Canadas, together with a Statistical Report addressed to the Directors of the Highland Society. In an Appendix is given, with other miscellaneous matter, an American *puff* of the Michigan territory, which is at present 'quite the rage' among the land speculators of Yankee-land, having, in a great degree, supplanted Ohio, Illinois, and Indiana. Michigan, which is better watered than any other part of the United States, resembles in its general character the peninsular portion of Upper Canada, upon which it borders. The influx of emigrants to this territory from the western part of New York, New England, and even Ohio, is said to be remarkable. Seven steam-vessels ply from Buffalo to Detroit, the decks of which swarm every day with volunteer settlers and speculators. 'With all their love of country,' Mr. Fergusson remarks, 'it appears somewhat anomalous, that wheresoever the 'bump of adhesiveness may be found, in vain will the disciples 'of Spurzheim search for it upon the cranium of an American.'

'However valuable, however beautiful may be his estate, however endeared as the scene of youthful enjoyment, or of the more sober avocations of maturer years, let but a tempting offer present itself, and he yields it without a sigh.' p. 225.

Mr. Fergusson finds it difficult to analyze this peculiarity, and is disposed to think it may in some measure be ascribed to the absence of the rights of primogeniture, which bind us to our paternal acres! What is it that binds the hardy mountaineer to his bleak homestead, who knows nothing of any such rights? It

would be more reasonable to look for its source in the spirit of commercial enterprise, the wide range of mercantile adventure, the constant familiarity with the map, the national passion for geographical extension, and, perhaps, a dash of the Indian blood, or an Indian spirit caught from the natural features of the country. The American delights in locomotion, and the steam-boat is adapted to gratify this propensity to the utmost perfection. But where every thing is in motion and in transition, the home-feeling cannot take root. All is diffusion, and nothing is concentrated.

Mr. Colton's Manual may be recommended as containing much sound advice to those for whom the valley of the Mississippi has sufficiently strong attractions to induce them to plunge so far into the *site of the future*.

Art. VIII. *The Sinfulness of Colonial Slavery.* A Lecture delivered at the Monthly Meeting of Congregational Ministers and Churches, Feb. 7, 1833. By Robert Halley. 8vo. pp. 28. London, 1833.

WE rejoice to believe that the time is very near at hand, when England, in purifying herself from the national crime, shall deliver her colonies from the political evil,—the cost, and burden, and moral blight, and judicial curse of slavery. The impolicy of the present system may be proved, and has been proved again and again, by facts and figures, by calculations of profit and loss, by the past and present state of the colonies, and by the eternal complaints of the ever-injured planters. But there is one short way of proving the same thing, which, if not the most convincing line of argument to merchants and politicians, comes most directly home to the bosoms of all who acknowledge the paramount obligations of Christian morality. If it be criminal, it must be impolitic. Under the moral government of the Righteous Judge, it cannot be, that what is sinful should ultimately be advantageous or even profitable to communities. The laws of national morality are guarded by penal sanctions consisting in temporal consequences. Nations are punished as nations in this world, for to them there is no future state. The recognition of this momentous practical truth, we deem not less important than the acknowledgment that slavery is a national crime. We are anxious, not merely that slavery should be abolished, through the slowly formed conviction that it is fraught with political danger, or that it has ceased to be profitable, but that it should be abolished in the character of a crime and a wrong. We could almost have wished that it might have had the merit of a national sacrifice, instead of being the riddance of a national burden. To no tax or

assessment could we have more cheerfully submitted, than to one which should have laid upon all classes of the nation, an equitable share of the necessary cost of so glorious an act of faith. The abolition of slavery will cost this country nothing. The planter may be amply compensated, without entailing any fiscal burden upon this country; as Mr. Cropper has shewn, most satisfactorily, in his Review of the Select Committee's Report. 'What compensation indeed', he asks, 'could be due, where there is confessedly now no profit, though the system is at this time maintained at an unwarrantable expense to the country?' But were it otherwise, we trust that the Christian public would cheerfully submit to bear their part in whatever loss might accrue from the sacrifice of blood-stained profits. Grant slavery to be a crime, and we will admit that it does not belong to the Government or people of England to convert its abolition into a punishment of those who are but sharers in the sin. But let those who deny it to be a crime, and wrap the curse only the closer around them, take the consequences.

We have adverted to Mr. Halley's highly impressive sermon in a former article; but we cannot deny ourselves the pleasure of bringing it more distinctly under the notice of our readers. 'If,' he remarks, 'as we are told by those more immediately interested, slavery is the sin, not so much of themselves, as of the whole nation, then a louder emphasis is given to every word of the Divine denunciations, as addressed, not only to the negligent, but to the participants of crime: "If thou forbear to deliver them that are drawn unto death, and those that are ready to be slain; if thou sayest, Behold, we knew it not; doth not He who pondereth the heart consider it? and he that keepeth thy soul, doth not he know it? and shall not he render to every man according to his works?"' Such is the striking text which the Preacher has taken as his motto. In proceeding to shew the sinfulness of Colonial Slavery, Mr. Halley first examines the origin, principle, and nature of the ancient servitude; next shews the working of the moral law, as regards that slavery which it tolerated; and then carries forward his appeal to the letter and spirit of the Christian religion. Having thus cleared his ground, by shewing that slavery is incapable of vindication on the ground of Jewish precedent or the tacit sanction of scripture, he proceeds to depict the murderous effects and 'exceeding sinfulness' of British Colonial Slavery. He then launches into the following animated strain of indignant eloquence.

'And for what do we thus sacrifice the lives of the blacks and the morals of the whites? Is it for commercial purposes only? Is it our costly immolation before the shrine of avarice? Is gain our godliness? There seems hardly that pitiful pretext. The gains of slave-labour are daily diminishing. "Your gold and silver is cankered, and the

rust of them shall be a witness against you, and shall eat your flesh as it were fire. Behold, the hire of your labourers, which is of you kept back by fraud, crieth, and the cries of them which have reaped are entered into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth."

' This murderous diminution is, I readily admit, not so much chargeable upon individuals, as it is the crime of us all, for it is undoubtedly indispensable to the continuance of the system. Increase is destructive of slavery. Did slaves multiply in any thing like the natural proportion of a race of men who, without any prudence or forethought of their own, receive their daily food in exchange for their daily labour, there would soon be an excess of labourers above all demand, and no price beyond his ordinary food could be afforded for the hire of a servant. By this easy process, I apprehend, villanage was terminated in England, and most of Europe; and we have with us the testimony of all history, ancient and modern, when we assert that, wherever slavery is perpetuated, this great and benevolent law of Providence has been, and must have been, though always with harsh measures and intense misery, reversed and abrogated.

' The multiplication of the Israelites in Egypt was nothing contrary to the course of nature, when a politic, though cruel king, saw the necessity of checking its progress. His first scheme was to make their lives bitter with hard bondage; but bondage must be hard, and life must be bitter indeed, to secure the diminution of a servile race; though, demonstrably, had there been the sugar-works of Jamaica instead of the brick-making of Goshen, this project of severe labour would have proved successful. The tampering with the midwives was not more cruel than are the secrets of slavery in every age.

' Who does not know, that slavery was perpetuated throughout Greece by various modes of destroying the servile race? Who has not heard of the infamous institute of the Crypteia, by which the youthful Spartans were bound at certain seasons to engage for the assassination of the Helots, as their sacrifice on the altar of patriotism? Who is at any loss to account for the servile wars of the Romans and other western nations? Who does not see that even now, in North America, through the facility of procuring food and comparatively easier toil in cultivating cotton and tobacco, the increase of the slaves is so augmenting the amount of labour as silently, but certainly, to diminish the money value of each: and though the timidity or avarice of the American is attempting every scheme to convert humanity into brutal nature—though he holds two millions of human beings, among whom marriage is unknown, the protection of law denied, schools prohibited, and, I am ashamed to add, in some States, by recent enactments unparelled in Moscovy or Spain, religious instruction forbidden; yet the fecundity of the negro is working out the emancipation of his race; every child from its birth is melting some link in the monstrous chain; and though the scheme of colonizing Liberia, by abstracting slave-labour from the market, may faintly oppose this formidable influence, and the thousands transported yearly to die in the cultivation of sugar amidst the swamps of Louisiana may defer the doom of this hateful system, yet even now the mass is growing too heavy for its foundation; and those dissonant murmurings of bondage in the temple of freedom,

and of penal laws worthy of the inquisition in the land of religious liberty, and of awful impiety in the country of revivals, will issue in an explosion, the reverberation of which over the Mexican Gulph, unless anticipated by wise and Christian legislation, may shake society into atoms through all our islands, and involve in the ruins of slavery the property and lives of the whole white population. America to be safe must be virtuous enough to emancipate her slaves, or wicked enough to introduce the midwives of Egypt, the Crypteia of Lacedæmon, or the night-work of Jamaica.

‘But I check myself. Who are we to reprove the Americans? We must wash our own hands of the blood-stain before we dare hold them up as witnesses against them. We may not be so bad as they are; yet we are far too deeply involved to reprove, rebuke, and exhort with all authority. We, therefore, entreat you, we conjure you, by every principle, both of humanity and religion, in the crisis of approaching discussion, to circulate information, and, personally merging all political considerations, to aid those who are determined promptly and conscientiously to do this great work of justice and mercy. Let us be determined to dash to shivers this frightful likeness of “Molock, horrid king, besmeared with blood,” which avarice, the besetting sin of a commercial community, has raised in every sugar-plantation throughout the British dominions. Very much will depend upon the attitude assumed by the religious public. It is known to be our cause. In the recent elections, the efforts which were so eminently successful in procuring attention and support for this cause, were made, I believe, exclusively by religious people. The ark of the Lord has, once more, amidst the strife and conflict of parties, become the depository of justice, mercy, and freedom.’—pp. 21—24.

The demand, Mr. Halley goes on to remark, must be for ‘entire emancipation.’ He does not explain in what sense he uses these words, which are susceptible of a strength of import which he did not probably intend. Emancipation *must* be so far ‘entire’ as to produce an entire change in the condition of the slave, raising him *at once* from a thing to a person, from a chattel to a man; and this is all that we understand him to mean. But entire in the sense of unconditional, prudence and humanity would forbid it to be; since the relation between the master and the slave must still be continued, for the sake of both parties, under the altered terms and conditions of employer and labourer, land-proprietor and cultivator; and the restrictions of law and police must be substituted for the irresponsible tyranny of the slave-driver. Into these considerations, however, we do not deem it requisite, on the present occasion, more distinctly to enter. Mr. Halley concludes his discourse with the following striking and energetic appeal.

‘Freemen, patriots, philanthropists, Christians, lovers of the Sabbath, friends of missions, our appeal is made to you. For the sake of our country, what a weight of guilt does she bear!—for the sake of

our brother missionaries, whose chapels are in ruins, and whose flocks are scattered without a shepherd—for the sake of our religion, how reproached through the cruelties of its professors!—for the sake of our brethren and sisters in hard bondage, and their and our common Saviour, who will accept the act of kindness done for them, as though it were done unto himself,—promptly and firmly unite, in the benevolent spirit of your religion, to procure a legislative enactment, commensurate with the demands of justice and mercy; abandon the gain of oppression and hire of the labourers now in your storehouses. Wash you, make you clean, put away the evils of your doings; cease to do evil; learn to do well. So shall the blessing of him that was ready to perish come upon you. The great national reproach will be rolled away, and Britain become an example to the world, of the strength of religious principle nobly triumphing over the avarice and heartlessness of commercial speculation. The slavery of France and Holland would soon fall; and even America, with her mass of wretched bondsmen, could hardly fail to wash her hands in innocence, did she feel the execrations of a liberated world fall upon her crimes.

‘But if we forbear to deliver them that are drawn unto death, and those that are ready to be slain: doth not he that pondereth the heart consider it?—and he that keepeth thy soul, doth not he know it?—and shall not he render to every man according to his works? Shall not he, who drowned the Egyptian slave-masters in the Red Sea, and doomed their house of bondage to become the basest of kingdoms,—shall not he, who condemned his people Israel to exile and silent anguish by the river of Babylon, for just so many years as they and their fathers had neglected the merciful provision of releasing their servants on the Sabbatical year,—shall not he, who called up the fierceness of the Medes against great Babylon, and brought down to the grave her king from the midst of his revels, because “he opened not the house of his prisoners,”—shall not he, whose providence in every age is a perpetual commentary upon that text, “Woe unto him that useth his neighbour’s service without wages, and giveth him not for his work,”—shall not he, who in our own times humbled the eagles of Buonaparte before ill-disciplined negroes, when they made all Christendom tremble,—who, amidst the tears of us all, blotted out Poland from the map of Europe, when her serfs were slaves, and her nobles claimed to be their proud proprietors,—who has broken the bastions of Algiers, and quenched her fiery crescent in the blood of her sons, that she can never any more make gainful traffic by the man-stealing of her corsairs and the flesh of her captives;—shall not he,—but I dare not anticipate his judgements, when he cometh out of his place to make inquisition for blood, which I hope our rulers and people are preparing, not to encounter, but to avert, by timely repentance, and listening to his voice, while it gives an awful sanction and emphasis of thunder to the piercing cry of the negro from across the Atlantic, “Am I not a man and a brother!” “Yet now your flesh is as the flesh of our brethren, our children as your children, and lo! you bring into bondage our sons and our daughters, and our daughters are brought into bondage already, neither is it in our power to redeem them.”

Art. IX. *Address on Slavery, Sabbath Protection, and Church Reform.* By James Douglas, Esq., of Cavers. 8vo. pp. 66. Edinburgh. 1833.

THE preceding article was already in the printer's hands, when this pamphlet reached us, containing an Address to the Christian public, from one whose voice will command and reward attention, upon the three great topics which at the present moment share without dividing the general interest. The substance of this address, with some variations, 'was delivered at several meetings for the purpose of recommending signatures to petition for the Abolition of Slavery,—for Sabbath Protection,—and for Church Reform. It is now published, partly from notes taken down at one of those meetings, that it may reach in a printed form, those whom the Writer had it not in his power to address in person.' Without further preface, and with little comment, we shall proceed to lay before our readers some extracts from this spirit-stirring appeal.

'The West Indies are an example that the laws of God are never neglected with impunity, and that no lasting prosperity can be based upon injustice and human misery. Whether we look to the wretched Slaves; the bankrupt planters; or their creditors, the merchants, who lend out their money upon usury, in vain sought to be wrung out of the tears and blood of wretched men; or to that portion of the British army, which, to the disgrace of this country, forms the only solid support of a system as impolitic as it is unjust,—we every where behold the curse of an avenging God pressing heavily upon the abettors of this slavish tyranny, which is without its equal in atrocity, either in ancient or modern times. The command of God to the parents of the human race, to replenish the earth and possess it, which has overcome all other preventive checks to population, disease, misery, and vice, is yet found too weak to resist the overwhelming evils of Colonial Slavery. The ill-gotten treasure of the planter is his gang of slaves, and these slaves are perishing under the lash of their shortsighted oppressors. While the West Indies are dispeopling of their inhabitants, their fertile soil itself is stricken with an increasing barrenness,—the necessary effect of slave cultivation. Britain, in addition to a new load of guilt, has a new load of taxes, in the shape of bounties and preferences, to the inhumanity and folly of employing slave instead of free labour; and its commerce is restricted, and its workmen unemployed, in order that the planters may continue to extort labour by the cart-whip, instead of paying the labourer his justly merited wages. If there is a spot in existence (except the regions of eternal punishment) where all things are contrary to the mind and laws of God, we must certainly find it in the West Indies, where property is robbery; labour, tyrannous exaction; law, merciless oppression; governors, murderers and men-stealers; and where all things are conducted, not according to the maxims of a wise and holy Being, but according to the devices of the enemy of human

happiness,—the envier, in his own abyss of misery, of all prosperity, and who, in the triumph of evil over good in the West Indies, glories that he has still unlimited power in one corner of the world, though even there, while one well-wisher to humanity remains on earth, neither he nor his adherents can hope any longer to keep “his goods in peace.”

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‘The slaves are claimed as the property of their owners. “Man can have no property in man.” The very claim to such a property strikes at the root of all property whatsoever. God is the proprietor of all things, because he is the Creator of all things. Labour stamps a right of property upon the objects on which it is exercised, because it creates their value. God having only given the raw elements, and having appointed that the art and labour of man should work them into their useful applications, has thus given to man a right of proprietorship, by making him a fellow-worker with himself. God creates, and man forms. But no man can assert a right of property in the involuntary labour of other men, without vitiating the title on which all his own property rests. By such a claim he shakes the foundation upon which civil society is built, and introduces a universal system of robbery and wrong. Man can have no property in man. The slave-holders are therefore men-stealers, for wrong by repetition can never become right, but, by continuance, is only a more intolerable and excessive wrong.’

* * * * *

‘It is argued from the Bible by the slave-owners—who, alas! seldom quote the Bible to a better purpose—that slavery is permitted, if not sanctioned, in Scripture, not only by the example of the Patriarchs, but by the Mosaic precepts.

‘The truth, however, is, that the Bible does not sanction slavery; *it only sanctions its mitigations and restrictions.* The legislation of Moses on this head, goes to this one point—not to establish slavery, but to temper it, and, in many instances, to terminate it. God, by the hands of Moses, gave such a constitution to the Israelites, that even the most mitigated form of slavery could exist to no extent amongst them. By this constitution, after having once settled in Canaan, they were disqualified from carrying on offensive wars, till the changes in their government that occurred about the time of David, and had, consequently, no prisoners of war to dispose of as bondmen; and, by the agrarian law of Israel, slavery was rendered altogether unprofitable; for who in his own hereditary garden would employ the wasteful labour of the slave, when with ease he could cultivate his own estate by his own free, intelligent, and productive efforts? Slavery can only be profitable in an ill-peopled country, and in a new soil; but Canaan, before the Israelites entered it, was already fertile by artificial means, and, both before and after its conquest by Joshua, was crowded with population. The slave-owners appeal to the Bible when it suits their purpose so to do; but they would not, we presume, wish the laws of Israel revived, by which it was decreed, that “he that stealeth a man, and selleth him, or if he be found in his hand, he shall

surely be put to death." And if Revelation has not abolished slavery positively in direct terms, it has done so in effect, commanding every man to love his neighbour as himself.

'The injustice, then, of the West Indian system is manifest from this,—that man, by right, can have no property in man: but the whole West Indian system is founded on a property in man; hence, with them, wrong must be right, and right wrong. The order of nature is perpetually reversed—the rule of eternal justice for ever violated. What is praised in Britain is execrated in the West Indies;—what is here the object of reward, is there the subject of punishment. The very laws themselves are the worst part of the system, being a violation of all law. There the innocent become the victims, and the criminals are the judges and the legislators. Tyrants alone talk of liberty and independence, and those who have the hearts of Tell and of Bruce, must either live branded as slaves, or be massacred like dogs. In Britain all presumptions are in favour of liberty,—in the West Indies of slavery. Whoever touches the soil of Britain is free; whatever Black, without the required certificates, touches the soil of the West Indian Islands, is, according to the proper form, seized, put into "the cage," advertised ten days, and, "if no owner or claimant appear," is sold to pay the expenses; so that, if he has no master upon his arrival, he is sure by this admirable process to find one sooner or later.'—pp. 13—15.

Mr. Douglas proceeds to answer the inquiry, For whose profit does this miniature of hell exist? Not, according to their own shewing, for that of the planters. As far back as the twenty years from 1772 to 1792, the Committee of the Jamaica Assembly reported, that there had been in the course of that time 177 estates sold for debt, and 55 thrown up; while, at the end of that period, 92 estates remained in the hands of creditors. Their present bankrupt condition is, then, of too long standing to be ascribed to anti-slavery agitation with the slightest shadow of truth. Not for the profit of the Bristol merchants. The merchant, for the most part, prefers the risk of losing his money, to the greater risk of becoming the proprietor of the mortgaged plantation.

'If, then,' continues Mr. Douglas, 'neither the planters nor the merchants are gainers by the colonial system, is Britain a gainer? If squandering life and money be a gain to her,—if adding to her taxes, and providing graves for her soldiers,—if becoming a party to wrongs which are crying to Heaven for vengeance, be gain to Britain, then has she found in the West Indies an inexhaustible treasure. If it be for her advantage to uphold a body of men ready to plead for every abuse, so that their own enormities may remain untouched, such a corps she has had during many a sitting of Parliament. It is to be hoped, under a reformed Parliament, the case is different; but it was formerly calculated that the West India interest alone supplied fifty-six members of the House of Commons, the well-disciplined phalanx,

the constant advocates, of corruption, ready to support any ministry that would connive at their violation of all laws divine and human.

‘ While things continued in this state, little could be hoped from the British Legislature; but now that public opinion is allowed to bear upon the election of members of Parliament—now that the public voice possesses the means of commanding attention—we may hope that a speedy end will be put to this most absurd and cruel waste of British blood and treasure in the West Indies.

‘ No folly could be equal to the folly of Britain, to say nothing of inhumanity, if the present ruinous system is continued even during the course of another year;—it is the supineness of the British nation alone that can permit to slavery a longer existence, and can suffer her own burdens to be increased, in order to enable the planters to continue to extort a prolongation of their present ruinous misgovernment, out of the aggravated wrongs of the wretched Africans.

‘ The most extravagant individuals find their vices the most costly of their luxuries, and nations are most impoverished by their political crimes. The West Indies have proved one great source of debt and expenditure to Britain. We may depend upon it, that nothing but the bounties and protections granted year after year upon West Indian produce, could have enabled the slave-holder to compete with the labour of free men in the East Indies, and on the African coasts. It is out of the pockets of this nation, heavily as we are taxed, and grievously as we complain of our burdens, that the money comes, which enables the West Indian planter, with his monopoly and bounties, to resist the natural effects of that universal law which dooms to unproductiveness the labour of slaves, and curses with barrenness, the soil, however fertile, where the labourer is deprived of his just share of the produce. Had slave-labour in the West Indies been left to the untroubled laws of nature, slavery would by this time have died a natural death throughout the British colonies. But Britain intercepts this benevolent provision of the Author of Nature for the emancipation of slaves; and, by bounties and taxes, wrung out of the productive labour of free men, prevents the unproductiveness of compulsory labour from telling to its full extent in favour of the slaves; while two-elevenths of her whole military force go to the maintenance of that unjust and inhuman tyranny, usurped by a handful of white men over thousands of their fellow creatures.

‘ By an elaborate and moderate computation, the military and naval expenses of maintaining the West India Islands in a state of slavery, especially if the Mauritius and the Cape are added, cannot fall short of two millions sterling annually. The duties and drawbacks on sugar have been estimated, with equal care, at one million two hundred thousand pounds sterling; and, if we add the loss that we suffer from excluding the productions of the richest countries of the east, the total amount of Britain’s loss cannot possibly be much overstated at four millions a-year. When England is so anxious about economy, that even the reduction of a few thousands a-year is esteemed a matter of great moment, and members are forced to make all sorts of excuses to their constituents for not voting in favour of any measure which would produce a saving of even an inconsiderable sum, shall four millions

a-year be quietly suffered to be wasted, and wasted upon a system alike destructive of British property and British life?

‘The loss of money, however, be it ever so great, cannot compare with the cruel waste of life occasioned by sending our soldiers to those pestilential regions, whose very atmosphere is, in many cases, death to the uninured whites, and certain loss of health to all. In 1826, of the eighty-three regiments then in the British service, twenty were placed in the West Indies, being only three less than the number of those which were then stationed in distracted Ireland, (excluding the reserve corps,) and only six less than are in Ireland at this present eventful crisis. While twenty regiments were required for the West Indies, nine were deemed sufficient for Britain. If we inquire, against what enemy so large a force was accumulated, we find the West Indies threatened with no danger from without; their only danger was from within. The British fleet had possession of the sea; Britain was at peace with the world; but slavery could not be maintained without the presence of a force, which might have spread the influence of Britain over the farthest east, but which, without a battle or an enemy, was wasting away under the influence of a West Indian climate.

‘In June 1829, when Parliament ordered the returns to be laid before them of the mortality of our army in the West Indies, those returns were withheld; and Parliament acquiesced in the non-production of them, on the implied understanding that they contained details too horrible to meet the public eye.

‘The then Secretary of War, Sir Henry Hardinge, was reported to have said, that the inspection of these returns would “be too horri-fying for the public.” What, then, are we to think of the iron nerves of those rulers who can calmly surrender their fellow-citizens to evils too horrible to be contemplated?

‘Will the Secretary of War exult in having nerves to execute that, which the body of the nation are not supposed to have nerves to bear the recital of? But has Britain much cause to rejoice in rulers who possess so extraordinary a pre-eminence above their fellow citizens, in the intrepidity with which they can contemplate human life unprofitably squandered away? Anxiously, however, as they were concealed, a part of those horrors have transpired. The then Secretary of War is understood to have allowed that, out of three regiments, consisting of 2700 men, sent to one of the islands, one-third had perished in one season! If the choice had been offered to those unfortunate regiments to decline the duty, on the condition of having every third man of them shot upon the spot, they would have been gainers, had they preferred the horrible alternative. They would have been spared the previous pangs of wasting sickness, they would have died in their own land, and in the sight of their friends, bedewed with their tears, and buried by their hands. Nor let us suppose that the loss of these regiments was limited to a third. Death did not cease his work the following years, though his havock may be most dreadful on the first. Who more might have perished, or what feeble remnants of these devoted regiments might have returned to their country, is known only to the Secretary of War, and those of his colleagues who

have nerves to face the greatness of the disaster. No doubt, if the present colonial system were abolished, we might still be obliged to keep up some military force in the West Indies, but a much less might suffice, and the regiments might mainly consist of blacks, upon whom the climate does not produce such baleful effects, and who might relieve the white troops of the most wasting part of their duty; but, while slavery exists, so large a white force is absolutely necessary to maintain the system of compulsory labour and the lash.

‘The planters, indeed, in their rage against our legislature; for the very moderate restrictions it has attempted from time to time to impose upon their cruelties, talk loudly of asserting their independence. How capable they are of doing so, is abundantly evident from the fact, that when, upon an alarm of insurrection, they flew to arms, their bullets were found not to have been adapted to the bore of their guns; and, upon another occasion, they were forced to entreat a British vessel accidentally lying off the coast, to come near to the shore, that the terror of her cannon might awe into obedience the slaves, whom they had it not in their power to reduce to submission by their own efforts. These are the men who threaten to shake off the British yoke, and are enraged at the mention of any interference between them and their property! When they talk of rising against Britain over their sangaree, no wonder their slaves talk of rising against them. Without the arm of power which Britain has stretched over them, it stands to reason that a handful of white men could not have restrained thousands of blacks from asserting the natural rights of humanity; and, but for her ill-judged bounties and protections, they must long since have thrown up their plantations in despair. There are not two thousand sugar planters, and they receive one million two hundred thousand pounds of British money, to enable them to set the laws both of nature and humanity at defiance. These magnificent paupers, by the help of Britain, can at once evade the benevolent provisions of Nature, and blaspheme the hand that feeds them; for a part of their pensions are allotted to a secret fund, which rewards the hired invective, calumny, and falsehood, of the advocates of slavery in Britain.’—pp. 17—24.

We will not offend our readers by offering any apology for the length of these citations. Should the language be thought by any person too strong, Mr. Douglas is able to answer for himself. We must transcribe one more paragraph from this part of the address.

‘We pray for immediate abolition, because gradual emancipation is now out of the question. The planters themselves have solved the difficulty; they have left us no alternative between immediate emancipation, or certain insurrection. Gradual, means step by step, but the planters will not take the first step towards emancipating the Negroes.

‘Education and religion are the preparatory measures which have long been pointed out as the safest and surest mode of fitting the slaves for the blessing of freedom. Education, however, (except teaching

them to repeat the Church Catechism by rote), the planters deny to their slaves, and the teachers of religion they every where persecute or forcibly expel. The planters are, indeed, preparing a gradual abolition of their own, but it is one not to our British tastes. They are gradually abolishing slavery, because they are gradually exterminating the slaves. They have proclaimed but one liberty for them, and that is, to the death. The grave has been the only door of emancipation opened to these wretched beings by their masters, and it has opened its mouth without measure. The time for gradual emancipation is past; to attempt any such process now, would be only to irritate both the planters and the slaves, and hasten the dreaded crisis of insurrection. It is safer to grant all than to grant a part; to make the slave completely free, than to give him merely such a portion of freedom, as should make him more impatient of the remaining restrictions.' p. 29.

The second part of the address includes a beautiful argument for the Sabbath, in its twofold character of a religious duty and a civil privilege:—

'The greatest privilege which the majority of our nation possess;—a privilege without which all other privileges would be vain;—for, at this moment, it is the great barrier against the degradation of the race; a reserve in spite of themselves, of the liberty of the community, which, if left unbefriended by the Legislature, pressed as they are by the approach of famine, and beset by every form of misery, they would be too apt to barter away; though they would not obtain for it even the bribe that wrought upon Esau,—an additional mess of pottage; since the more labour that is brought into the market, the harder are the conditions on which it will be purchased.

'It is from the want of attending to this distinction, that the Sabbath is both a religious duty and a civil privilege, that most of the objections against Sabbath protection proceed. As far as it is a religious duty, it must be enforced by the Pulpit and not by the Laws. Religion is a voluntary and reasonable service; men cannot be compelled by human enactments to give their hearts unto God, and to live to the great ends of their being; all that can be done, is to propose right motives for this voluntary surrender of their homage to the King of Kings. When the State interferes in matters of religion, its interposition is both awkward and ineffectual. In such matters, we neither desire nor require its aid. But the Sabbath is a civil privilege, and so far is the proper object of state protection.' pp. 41, 42.

To Mr. Douglas's remarks on Church Reform, we shall advert in our next Number, in noticing a few of the pamphlets that have accumulated on our table since we last adverted to this prolific subject.

ART. X. LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

In the press, *Facts, not Fables*: with numerous Engravings. By Chas. Williams.

In the press, *The Prodigal*. By the Rev. I. Thornton. 32mo.

In the press, *Spirituality of Mind*. By Rev. Jos. Fletcher, D.D. 32mo.

In the press, *Conversations on Christian Polity*. By a Lady. 1 Vol. 12mo.

In the press, and shortly will be published, *A Volume of Sermons*. By the late Rev. W. Howels.

In the press, *Fancy Fair*; to which is added, *Starlight*; or, a Scene at Tweeddale.

In the press, *Bibliotheca Classica*; or, a new Classical Dictionary: containing an authentic and minute Account of the proper names which occur in Latin and Greek Authors, relating to History, Biography, Mythology, Geography, and Antiquities. By John Dymock, LL.D. and Thomas Dymock, M.A. In one large volume. 8vo. Nearly ready.

The Entomology of Australia, in a Series of Monographs. By George Robert Gray. Part I. containing the genus *Phasma*. In 4to. With Eight Plates and Descriptive Letterpress, plain and coloured, will appear June 1.

In the press, *Lectures on Poetry and General Literature*. By James Montgomery. 1 Vol. post 8vo.

Directions for the Analysis of Inorganic Substances. By J. J. Berzelius, translated from the French. By G. O. Rees. Will shortly be published, in 1 Vol. 12mo.

In the press, and shortly will be published, *The Life, Times, and Correspondence of Isaac Watts, D.D.* with Notices of many of his Contemporaries, and a Critical Examination of his Writings. By the Rev. Thos. Milner, A.M. Author of the "*History of the Seven Churches of Asia*." 1 thick Volume. 8vo. This Work will contain many particulars of this eminent Divine and Poet, hitherto but little known—a full inquiry into his opinions upon the Trinity, with a view to ascertain his last sentiments upon this important subject.

The Rev. Ebenezer Miller has issued a Prospectus of a Series of Geographical Tables, designed for Youth, and intended to simplify the work of Tuition, by presenting the leading features of every country, both natural and artificial, in a condensed, yet comprehensive form. The names of those towns only will be inserted in the Tables, which are worthy of the learner's attention, either on account of their

general notoriety, their Extent, Population, Commerce, Manufacture, or Antiquities, &c. It is not expected that the Work will exceed Twelve or Fifteen Numbers: and these will embrace the substance of most of the ordinary Works on Geography; besides containing much useful Information, which can only be found by consulting the best Gazetteers, at the expence of much time and labour. As an Introduction to the Series, a General Outline or Summary of the Four Quarters of the World, on the same plan, and on the face of a single sheet, will shortly be published. The price of each No. will be 4*d.* or 3*s.* 6*d.* per dozen.

Preparing for the press, and to be speedily published, The Narrative of two Expeditions into the Interior of Australia, undertaken by Captain Charles Sturt, of the 39th Regiment, by order of the Colonial Government, to ascertain the nature of the Country to the west and north-west of the Colony of New South Wales. This work will contain a correct Chart of the Rivers that were discovered; a minute Description of the Country, its Geology, Productions, the Character of its Rivers, Plains, and Inhabitants, together with much useful information. It will give a distinct account of Captain Barker's Survey of St. Vincent's Gulf, the nature of the Soil in the Promontory of Cape Jervis, its Streams, Anchorage, &c.; and will be illustrated by numerous Drawings of the Scenery, Ornithology, and Fossil Formation of the Country traversed, interspersed with numerous Anecdotes of the Natives, their Manners, Weapons, and other Peculiarities. This work is dedicated, by permission, to Lord Goderich, and will throw a new light on the whole of the Country that was explored.

In the course of this month will appear, An Historical Sketch of the Princes of India, Stipendiary, Subsidiary, Protected, Tributary, and Feudatory; prefaced by a Sketch of the origin and progress of British power in India. With a brief account of the Civil, Military, and Judicial Establishments of the East India Company. By an Officer in the Service of the East India Company.

The Second Edition is nearly ready, of Prinsep's Journal of a Voyage from Calcutta to Van Diemen's Land; comprising a Description of that Colony during a Six Months' Residence. The First Number of the Series of Illustrations to Prinsep's Journal, will be published in a few days.

The Fourth Volume of the Library of Romance, edited by Leitch Ritchie, is from the pen of Mr. Galt, Author of the Ayrshire Legatees, Laurie Todd, &c., and is entitled "The Stolen Child, a Tale of the Town;" founded on a highly interesting fact.

In a few days will be published, Memoirs of the Life and Correspondence of the Rev. William Lavers, late of Honiton. By I. S. Elliott. With a portrait.

On May 1, 1833, will be published, demy 8vo. Vol. II. (The continuation) of The Life of the late Dr. Adam Clarke; (from Original Papers,) by a Member of his family.

On the 1st. of May will be published, royal 8vo. Part I. of An Exposition of the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark, and other detached parts of Holy Scripture. By the late Rev. Richard Watson, Author of "A Biblical and Theological Dictionary," &c. &c.

Preparing for publication, A uniform edition of the Works of the late Rev. Richard Watson, in eleven volumes, 8vo.; including Memoirs of the Author's Life and Writings, by the Rev. Thomas Jackson.

In a short time will be published, Poetic Vigils; containing a Monody on the Death of Adam Clarke, LL.D. F.A.S. &c. &c. &c., and other Poems. By William Bennet Baker.

In the press, The Second Vol. of Sermons which have been preached on Public Subjects and Solemn occasions, with Especial Reference to the Signs of the Times, by Francis Scurray, B.D.

In the press, An Israelite Indeed: or, a Tribute of Sympathy, to the Memory of a Beloved Father; with characteristic sketches of a Life of unusual interest. By John Morison, D.D. 18mo.

In the press, Sermons for Christian Families, on the most important Relative Duties, by the late Rev. Edward Payson, D.D. Pastor of the second Church in Portland.

ART. XI. WORKS RECENTLY PUBLISHED.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Whyhcotte of St. John's; or the Court, the Camp, the Quarter Deck, and the Cloister. 2 vols. 18s.

A Letter to Thomas Wilson, Esq. Treasurer of the London Missionary Society. By William Alex. Hankey, Esq. occasioned by the "Analysis" of his Evidence on the Subject of Slavery, before the Committee of the House of Commons, contained in the Anti-Slavery Reporter. With Notes by its Editor. 8vo. 2s. 6d.

The Spirit of Sectarianism; with Observations on the Duty and Means of destroying Prejudice, and restoring the primitive Unity of the Church. 8vo. 2s. 6d.

ORIENTAL LITERATURE.

The Mahāvāsi, the Rājā-ratnācari, and the Rājā-Vāli, forming the Sacred and Historical Books of Ceylon; also a Collection of Tracts illustrative of the Doctrines and Literature of Buddhism; translated from the Singhalese. Edited by Edward Upham, M.R.A.S. and F.R.S., Author

of "the History and Doctrines of Buddhism," "the History of the Ottoman Empire," &c. &c. 3 vols. 8vo. 2l. 2s.

POLITICAL.

A Cry to Ireland and the Empire. By an Irishman, formerly Member of the Royal College. 12mo. Half cloth bound. 4s. 6d.

THEOLOGY.

Scriptural Researches. By the Right Hon. Sir George Henry Rose, Bart. 12mo. 7s. 6d. bound.

The Sinfulness of Colonial Slavery. A Lecture delivered at the Monthly Meeting of Congregational Ministers and Churches, in the Meeting-house of Dr. Pye Smith, Hackney, on February 7, 1833. By Robert Halley. 1s.

TRAVELS.

North America; a Moral and Political Sketch. By Achille Murat, Son of the late King of Naples. With a Note on Negro Slavery, by Junius Redivivus. 1 vol. with a Map. 10s. 6d.

TO OUR SUBSCRIBERS.

We must cast ourselves on the lenity and kindness of our Subscribers. The present Number must appear without the Index, &c., so long unavoidably delayed. It was found impossible to pass it through the Press in time. Arrangements have been made, which will, it is confidently hoped, prevent the recurrence of similar irregularities. The Editor begs to acknowledge the valuable contributions by which the present Number is enriched, and to solicit, under the heavy pressure of his engagements, the help of his correspondents in bringing up his arrears.